REPORT RESUMES

ED 018 522 24 UD 005 804

SOUNDS OF SOCIETY, A DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM IN GROUP INQUIRY.
FINAL REPORT.

BY- CHANDLER, B.J. ERICKSON, FREDERICK D.
NORTHWESTERN UNIV., EVANSTON, ILL.

REPORT NUMBER BR-6-2044 PUB DATE JAN 68
CONTRACT OEC-3-7-062044-0337
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$4.40 108P.

DESCRIPTORS- *LANGUAGE STYLES, *CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, *GROUP DISCUSSION, *COGNITIVE PROCESSES, *COMMUNICATION (THOUGHT TRANSFER), LANGUAGE PATTERNS, CAUCASIAN STUDENTS, NEGRO YOUTH, SUBURBAN YOUTH, LOWER CLASS, TABLES (DATA), TAPE RECORDINGS, MIDDLE CLASS, INNER CITY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

IN A RESEARCH STUDY IN SMALL GROUP INQUIRY, AN ANALYSIS WAS MADE OF THE CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE BEHAVIOR AND LANGUAGE STYLE OF LOWER-CLASS NEGRO AND MIDDLE-CLASS WHITE YOUTHS. ELEVEN INNER-CITY NEGRO GROUPS AND SEVEN SUBURBAN WHITE GROUPS OF 15- TO 19-YEAR-OLD YOUTHS MET SEPARATELY ONCE A WEEK FOR 10 WEEKS. IN ADDITION TO LANGUAGE AND INQUIRY STYLES, THE DEGREE OF SHARED EXPERIENCE AND POINT OF VIEW (LOW OR HIGH CONTEXT) AMONG SPEAKERS WAS EXPLORED. THE LANGUAGE STYLE OF THE INNER-CITY GROUPS WERE CHARACTERIZED AS MORE RESTRICTED THAN THAT OF THE SUBURBAN SUBSAMPLE AND SUGGESTED A RELATIVELY HIGH CONTEXT. THESE GROUPS ALSO TENDED TO EMPLOY EXAMPLES OF ACTUAL BEHAVIOR MORE FREQUENTLY THAN DID SUBURBAN GROUPS. THE INQUIRY PROCESS OF THE INNER-CITY GROUPS WAS DESCRIBED AS NONLINEAR BECAUSE THEY CHARACTERISTICALLY PRESENTED PROPOSITIONS AS CONCLUSIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE INQUIRY SEQUENCE. BOTH THE INNER-CITY NONLINEAR AND THE SUBURBAN LINEAR INQUIRY LED TO SOME VALID AND SOME INVALID CONCLUSIONS, AND BOTH GROUPS SHIFTED BETWEEN THE USE OF RELATIVELY RESTRICTED AND RELATIVELY ELABORATED LANGUAGE CODES. THESE SHIFTS WERE RELATED TO THE DEGREE OF APPARENT CHANGES IN SHARED CONTEXT. HOWEVER, USE OF A RESTRICTED LANGUAGE CODE DID NOT SEEM TO PRECLUDE ABSTRACT AND SOPHISTICATED INQUIRY. THUS, THE NEGRO'S DIALECT ALONE MAY NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS COGNITIVE DEPRIVATION. (LB)

ED018522

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

FINAL REPORT
Project No. 6-2044
Grant No. OEC-3-7-062044-0337

SOUNDS OF SOCIETY:
A Demonstration Program in Group Inquiry

B. J. Chandler
Frederick D. Erickson

Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

January 1968

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgement in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

UD 005804

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Office of Education
Bureau of Research

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements iii

Summary 1

Introduction 3

- The Nature of the Program 3
- Literature 6

Methods 17

- The Nature of the Sample 17
- Preparation of Data 21
- Interpretation of Data 27

Findings 29

Implications and Suggestions for Further Research 46

Bibliography 47

Appendices

- Lyrics of Bernadette 50
- Lyrics of Tobacco Road 51
- Typescript Excerpts 52

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The *Sounds of Society* program has had two major aims. The first involved research--the study of cultural differences in informal communication and inquiry. The second involved action--providing young people who participated voluntarily in the study population with a positive experience in informal education. Because of the program's two aims the cooperation of both scholars and youth agency personnel was necessary.

The authors are grateful for the advice and theoretical insight provided by scholars in the fields of anthropology and education in the Chicago area who have acted as consultants to the *Sounds of Society* program.

Anthropologists from Northwestern University who provided invaluable guidance are Paul J. Bohannon, Harris Professor of Social Science; Ethel M. Albert, Professor of Anthropology and Public Address and Group Communication; and Edward T. Hall, Professor of Anthropology and Business Administration (Intercultural Communication). Also from Northwestern, Professor Norman D. Bowers of the School of Education, and Assistant Dean Merrel D. Flair of the Medical School, have given helpful methodological adivce.

The program's co-investigator is especially indebted to two colleagues in the field of intercultural education: Armin Beck, Associate Professor of Education at the Center for Inner City Studies of Northeastern Illinois State College; and Eliezer Krumbein, Associate Professor of Education at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus. They have unusual gifts in combining theory with practice, and their friendship is a constant source of intellectual stimulation and encouragement.

Without the cooperation of youth agency professionals it would have been extremely difficult to develop a population of discussion groups for study. Local agency professionals are listed in the *Methods* section of the report. Special mention, however, is due to Leigh W. Kendrick, Program Director of the Y. M. C.A. of Metropolitan Chicago, and Mary Nelson, Principal of the Christian Action Ministry Academy, a school for dropouts in Chicago.

A group of graduate students was very helpful in assisting with the final analysis of data. Working independently, their impressionistic interpretations of the data served as informal corroboration of the basic analytic framework presented in this report. These research assistants were Ann Allen, Earle Carlson, Tor and Simone Faegre, Harold Levine, Helaine Minkus, and Margaret Rosenbloom. Their genuine interest in the theoretical and methodological implications of the program is gratefully acknowledged.

Albert Johnson of the Public Relations Department at Illinois Bell Telephone Company, assisted in the development of a schedule for rating the non-verbal communication behavior of inner city groups. Mr. Johnson was raised in the Negro ghetto on Chicago's South Side and his expert advice was very helpful. Dana Keil, a graduate student in anthropology at Northwestern, employed the rating schedule in observing inner city groups.

Melita Parker, Assistant Principal of Canty School, Chicago, was instrumental in the selection of group discussion leaders and provided much logistical assistance in her role as Co-Ordinating Assistant for the program.

Finally, the contributions of one member of the staff should receive special attention. Although hired as a secretary, Patrice Williamson came to participate actively in the research aspects of the program. Hers was the difficult task of preparing accurate typescripts of group discussions from tape recordings, a task which she performed in exemplary fashion, innovating a format for such transcription. Her concern for the quality of her work and for the program is deeply appreciated.

B. J. Chandler
Fredrick Erickson

SUMMARY

Sounds of Society was a demonstration and research study in small group inquiry. Its aims were to develop new directions in researching the dynamics of group inquiry from an anthropological perspective and to provide the study population with a positive experience of informal inquiry into cultural influences upon human behavior.

The population for the study consisted of self-selected discussion groups of young people between the ages of fifteen and nineteen from neighborhoods throughout the Chicago metropolitan area. Two types of neighborhoods were involved: those of the inner city containing lower class Negroes, and those of the suburbs containing middle class whites. The inner city and suburban groups met separately and their discussions were compared in terms of language usage and inquiry style. There were eighteen groups in the study sample, eleven from the inner city and seven from the suburbs.

Each group met once a week outside school for ten weeks. Youth agencies, primarily those of the Chicago Metropolitan Y. M. C. A., were used as discussion sites. The groups were led by an adult who provided loose structure for the informal discussions. The discussions were stimulated by playing a currently popular record. Groups were asked to analyze the social situation presented in the song lyric. Two types of songs provided "frames" for the discussion, those involving a boy-girl relationship and those presenting a community (or adult-youth) relationship.

Tape recordings of the discussions were made with Wollensak 1500SS recorders adapted for three microphones with a three-channel mixer. Typescripts were prepared from the tapes, providing data for analysis.

The typescripts were analyzed quantitatively in terms of language style and qualitatively in terms of inquiry style. Three major variables were found to associate in both inner city and suburban groups--language style (in terms of "elaborated" or "restricted" linguistic code), the degree of shared experience and point of view among speakers (a high degree of sharing termed "high context" and a low degree of sharing termed "low context"), and inquiry style (described as either "linear" or "non-linear").

Differences were found to exist between the inner city and suburban sub-samples and within each group in each sub-sample. Inner city groups tended to employ the "restricted" linguistic code somewhat more frequently than suburban groups, and to employ "high context" communication somewhat more frequently. Inner city groups also tended to employ examples of actual behavior more frequently than suburban groups, in an inquiry process described as non-linear because of its characteristic feature of presenting propositions as conclusions at the beginning of the inquiry sequence. (For an extended discussion, see the Findings section of this report.) Despite its "unusual" features of organization, the inner city non-linear inquiry process resulted in seemingly valid conclusions as well as some seemingly invalid or incomplete conclusions, a generalization which held true for the suburban linear inquiry process as well. The inner city style was judged to be more empirical and less speculative than the suburban style, allowing its users to quickly reach valid conclusions if the process was not biased by faulty a priori assumptions.

Throughout the study it was found necessary to guard against invidious comparison between the inner city and suburban sub-samples. While differences existed between

the sub-samples, large differences existed within each group in each sub-sample. Both inner city and suburban groups, for example, were found to shift back and forth between use of relatively "restricted" linguistic code and relatively "elaborated" code. These shifts were closely related to apparent changes in the degree of shared context between group members. This suggests that the use of "restricted" or "elaborated" linguistic codes may not be as closely related to the social class of the speakers as has been suggested by other researchers.

The findings suggest that the inner city Negro dialect alone may not be responsible for "cognitive deprivation" or underachievement in school. Examples of extremely abstract and sophisticated inquiry among inner city Negro young people were found in which a highly "restricted" linguistic code was employed. The use of "concrete" terms by Negro young people does not appear to necessarily limit inquiry, since the concrete terms are often employed in describing examples of actual behavior which are selected to illustrate an unstated "abstract" proposition. Furthermore, examples of suburban use of "restricted" linguistic code were found in which the inquiry process did not appear to be limited.

One of the implications of the study is that it raises serious questions about the assumption that a one-to-one relationship exists between language style and cognitive style. This assumption has provided the basis for a number of programs of educational remediation for the "disadvantaged." Another implication is that the theoretical frame of reference developed during the study may help to partially explain the ease with which Negro students appear to adjust to an integrated educational setting and their striking increases in school achievement in such settings which have been reported recently. A final implication of the study is that its research strategies suggest new ways of approaching the study of non-verbal communication. It appears that non-verbal communication may provide empirical evidence of group value structure, an implication which has relevance for anthropology as well as education.

INTRODUCTION

The Nature of the Program

The purpose of the Sounds of Society program was twofold, involving both action and research:

Objective I

> To develop in group inquiry participants an increased awareness of the interrelatedness of social events through discussion in informal small groups.

Objective II

> To provide, through research, a comparative study of the dynamics of group inquiry operating in groups of lower class Negro young people and in groups of middle class white young people as they meet in informal settings outside the school.

The study population for the program consisted of eighteen groups of teenagers ranging in size from eight to twelve participants. Eleven groups were composed of Negro young people from inner city neighborhoods and seven were composed of white middle class teenagers from urban and suburban neighborhoods in the greater Chicago area.

Participation in the groups was voluntary, and the discussions were extremely informal. The groups met for approximately an hour and a quarter once a week for ten weeks at youth agencies or homes. The groups were guided by an adult discussion leader who played an informal but not totally non-directive role in the conversations.

The groups were confronted with an ambiguous task during their "life" of approximately twelve and a half hours. Their task was to discuss a social situation presented in a currently popular song lyric and to suggest reasons for the behavior of actors in this fictional situation. The discussions were tape recorded and typescripts were prepared which provided a source of data for a variety of analytic techniques.

Increase in Emphasis on Descriptive Research During the Program[1]

The primary research emphasis of the original program design was upon the action aspects of the program. Of particular interest was the degree of growth evidenced by groups during their participation in the program. As typescripts of initial discussions became available, however, it became evident that the Negro and white groups exhibited marked differences in communication style and in their approach to inquiry. When standard instruments for interaction analysis were applied to the typescripts of the first few Negro groups in the sample, it was found that subcultural differences in communication made for a "lack of fit" between the data and the analytic instruments (this is discussed in greater detail in the Methods section below). Consequently it was decided that an attempt to measure "growth in inquiry ability within a group" would be premature, since the available instruments for measuring inquiry processes and "inquiry ability" appeared to be culturally biased.

---

[1] Bibliographic information on literature cited in this and following section appears in the References section at the end of the report (see Table of Contents).

The necessity of developing cross-cultural research strategies that would avoid the dangers of invidious comparison between the suburban and inner city samples made the research aspects of the program more time-consuming than originally anticipated. Many of the a priori assumptions about the "language of the disadvantaged" with which the investigators began the program had to be re-examined--for example, the assumption that the language of the "disadvantaged" necessarily inhibits abstract reasoning. The typescripts revealed sections in the discussions of inner city Negro groups in which highly abstract thought seemed to occur, expressed in urban Negro dialect. Conversely, it was found that discussions of white middle class groups contained sections which resembled inner city discussion in terms of process, content, and to a degree, language style.

One of the assumptions of many writers on the Negro "disadvantaged" is that the lower class Negro dialect has an inhibiting effect upon cognitive development. This assumption may be unwarranted. There appears to be some relationship between language style and cognitive style, but the relationship does not seem to be a simple and direct one. The world view and value system of the disadvantaged must also be taken into account. One of the questions that plagues research in this area is the identification of the causes of difference in thought processes which seem to exist between different cultures and subcultures. The question, "Does the type of language used cause differences in cognitive style, or do differences in cognitive style (and world view) cause differences in the use of language?" appears to be unanswerable. Part of the difficulty lies in the form of the question, which can be restated as an "either-or" proposition. It is possible that language style and cognitive style are covariables, in which case analysis of causation would be inappropriate.

Differences in cognitive style (or at least, inquiry style) and language usage do appear to exist in our data, but there may be a danger in overestimating the influence of these differences upon school achievement. The study published recently by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, entitled Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (1967:128-130), reports that previously segregated "disadvantaged" Negro students appear to have adjusted quickly to integrated classrooms and to have performed will with little remedial help, even after having performed poorly in a segregated setting. The ultimate implications of this phenomenon are presently unclear, but it is unlikely that Negro students' performance would improve so soon in an integrated classroom if their potential for school performance were strongly inhibited by differences in language usage and cognitive style. The differences appear to exist. The amount of their direct influence upon school achievement may be questionable, although the counterargument may be employed--that Negro children learn middle class language patterns quickly in the integrated classroom; hence their performance improves quickly.

In any event, it seems appropriate to examine the characteristic communication patterns of the "disadvantaged" and the "advantaged," not to attempt to determine "Which is better?" but to begin an accurate description of the differences in communication pattern and to suggest ways in which the different communication systems operate when used in a fairly relaxed manner in small groups. It is safe to say that effective communication occurs in inner city groups as well as in "middle class" groups. The observable differences between the two kinds of groups lie in *how* they communicate (process) and *what they talk about* (content).

Furthermore, since face-to-face communication does not take place by the exchange of verbal signals alone, but by gestures, tone of voice, and the use of eyes and body posture, the comparison of inner city and suburban communication patterns on the basis of verbal data alone would be inadequate. A thorough study of non-verbal communication within our sample was not possible, due to limitations of time and funds, and the lack of fully developed notational systems for describing non-verbal behavior. Because of these limitations the findings of this study are not intended to be interpreted as *conclusions*. The findings should be considered as hypotheses or as classificatory schemes, since the research is for the most part at the initial stage of description and classification.

Literature--The Analytical Framework

In this section the work of a number of writers from differing disciplines will be reviewed. It was found necessary to unite a number of concepts from varied sources in order to provide a framework for the cross-cultural comparison of group inquiry. The resulting analytical framework should not be regarded as an attempt at the distillation of all possibly relevant variables into a single system. Although by no means complete, the framework does place a number of seemingly conflicting interpretations of the relationship between language and thought within the context of a single system. In so doing, the analytical framework partially resolves some of the dilemmas referred to in the section above.

Since the framework is a conclusion from rather than a presupposition for the research conducted during this study, its presentation at this point in the report may seem somewhat disjunct. This difficulty is the result of the nature of the exploratory research process itself, in which it was impossible to delineate a linear sequence of "beginning, middle, and end" along a time span. Since the research approach involved the identification of relationships within a total system of communication rather than the identification of causal relationships among a restricted number of variables, the linear approach to analysis employed in much educational research was avoided, and a holistic, non-linear approach was employed. That approach is reflected in the structure of this report, hence the appearance of Conclusions in the Introductory section.

The major focus of this research project has been the identification of factors which influence the style of language employed in group inquiry. In this area of research, according to Vygotsky (1962:1), ". . . a clear understanding of inter-functional relations is particularly important. As long as we do not understand the interrelation of thought and word, we cannot answer, or even correctly pose, any of the more specific questions in this area."

While the relationship between language and thought (which is problematical, as will be noted below) is an important influence upon group inquiry, it is only one of a number of relationships which must be considered at varying systemic levels. The first and most basic level is that of group communication, which takes place by the exchange of mutually intelligible verbal and non-verbal messages.

Group inquiry is a special case of group communication, in which procedures are prescribed (formally or informally) for arriving at an acceptable validity (as defined by the group). In order to understand the workings of group inquiry, the workings of group communication must be understood. Since the exchange of units of meaning (sememes) between individuals in group communication can occur through the exchange of non-verbal as well as verbal signs, the study of group communication must involve a consideration of all the channels through which meaning can be transmitted and received by individuals, and all the constraints affecting transmission through these channels. (Such a holistic approach is termed "mascrosemantic analysis" by Albert, n.d:1.) In the macrosemantic framework presented below a number of factors have been omitted for the sake of clarity; for example, seemingly "individual" factors such as "intelligence" and "emotional state." The first five factors listed relate to group communication in general and the sixth through eighth relate to inquiry in particular. The factors are arranged schematically as Figure 1.

Level I (Group Communication Factors)

1. Influence of language style
2. Influence of culturally conditioned modes of perception and cognition
3. Influence of non-verbal communication (gesture, tone of voice, temporal and spatial relationships)
4. Influence of degree of shared experience and orientation (shared context) between speaker and listener
5. Mutual influence of 1-4 upon one another (feedback)

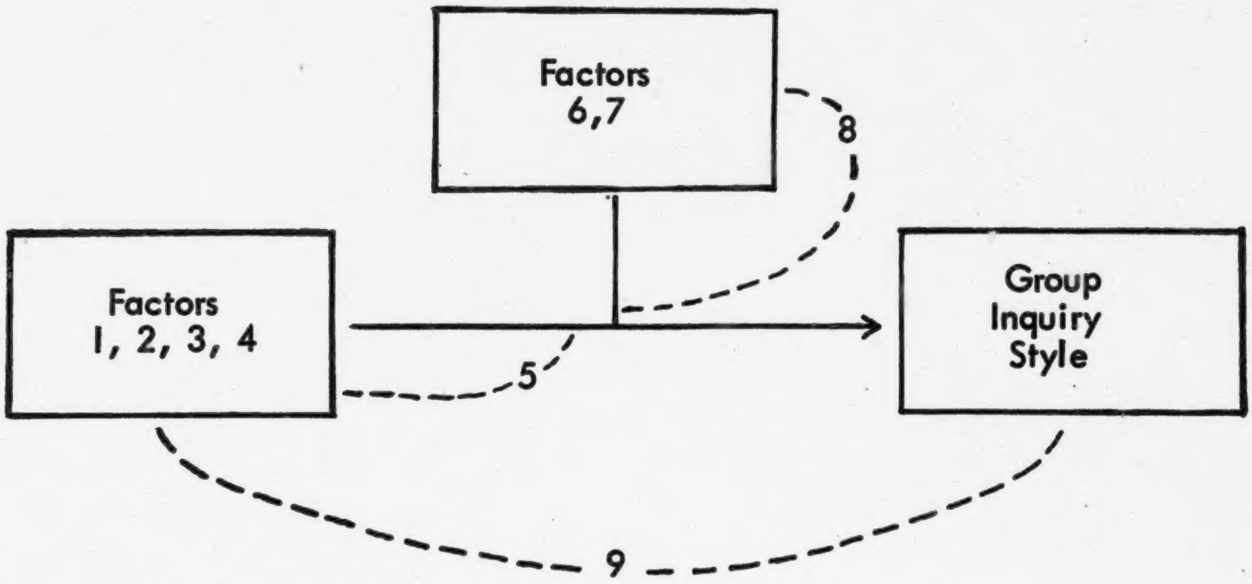
Level II (Group Inquiry Factors)

6. Influence of culturally determined definitions of "necessary and sufficient cause"
7. Influence of culturally determined group norms (including restrictions on "improper" topics or modes of inquiry)
8. Mutual influence of 6-7 upon one another (feedback)

Level III (Total System of Group Inquiry)

9. Mutual influence of 1-8 upon one another (feedback)

Figure 1. Factors Affecting the Group Inquiry System



The Influence of Language (Factor 1) upon Thought (Factor 2)

Perhaps the most enthusiastic proponent of the position that language directly influences thought was Benjamin Lee Whorf. His contention is summarized in the hypothesis that thought processes ". . . will be found to be FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT for individuals whose languages are of fundamentally different types" (in Carroll, 1964:67).

Bernstein (1961, 1964a, and 1964b) has applied a less relativistic form of the Whorf hypothesis to the study of the relationship between dialects within the English language and the cognitive styles of dialect speakers. He describes the dialects of the English lower classes as public language (restricted codes) in which the specific meaning of an utterance (individual word or phrase) is unspecific and is determined by the social context in which it is employed. In contrast to the restricted codes of the lower classes, the elaborated codes of the English middle and upper classes are characterized by the specific meanings associated with the individual words. Hence the meaning of an utterance (word or phrase) is highly specific and is relatively independent of the social context in which the utterance is employed. Elaborated codes can be described as non-public languages.

An example of a restricted code utterance is the inner city Negro dialect expression, "forget you! (f'gechoo)." The single utterance, "forget you," can have many shades of meaning from an openly insulting, "Get out of here, stupid!" to a jesting form of banter among friends meaning, "Aw, go on." Differences in meaning are dependent upon non-verbal signals accompanying the words and upon the social context in which the words are employed.

Bernstein suggests that the "public" or "non-public" character of the language commonly employed affects the cognitive style of the speaker. The speaker limited by custom to a public language will tend to have a relatively closed perceptual system and will have difficulty in making the subtle distinctions which are necessary for the manipulation of abstract concepts.

The use of either the elaborated or restricted code is most closely related to social class, according to Bernstein. He notes, however, that social distance within a class stratum (the degree of familiarity of the communicators) also influences the choice of code. Members of the upper middle class who are close friends or relatives may occasionally employ the restricted code in communication, although the restricted code is most frequently employed by the lower classes.

The influence of Bernstein has been considerable. His work is included in such "state of the art" collections of readings in anthropology and in education as Smith, Communication and Culture (1966); Hymes, Language in Culture and Society (1964); DeCecco, The Psychology of Language, Thought, and Instruction (1967); and Halsey, Floud, and Anderson, Education, Economy, and Society (1961). Many distinguished writers on the education of the disadvantaged have cited Bernstein, including Martin Deutsch and others at the Institute for Developmental Studies in New York (c.f. Passow, 1963:175-179), Frank Riessman (1962:75-80), and Bereiter and Englemann (1966:32-43). Bernstein's position received broad circulation through its inclusion in Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965:71-72), a summary of the findings of a "blue ribbon" conference on the education of the disadvantaged.

While one cannot deny a certain heuristic utility in Bernstein's schema, it appears to be overly rigid and incomplete. The relationship between social class, language style, and thought may not be as neat in nature as it is in Bernstein's schema, partially based as it is on Whorf and Vygotsky. The extreme positions of Whorf and Vygotsky have been challenged seriously by Fearing (in Hoijer, 1954:47-81), and even Carroll, who edited the most popular presentation of Whorf's work in 1956, concluded eight years later that little empirical evidence existed for an absolutist interpretation of the Whorfian hypothesis (Carroll, 1964:110).

While some educational theorists, particularly Riessman (1962:75), describe the inner city Negro dialect in terms of its functional as well as dysfunctional aspects, others appear to have interpreted the Bernstein position so as to infer that the use of Negro dialect equals language deprivation which leads directly to cognitive deprivation. While this proposition undoubtedly has partial validity, it is not a complete explanation. Unfortunately, it is so interpreted by many practicing administrators and teachers who are looking for single-factor causal explanations which suggest direct routes to remediation. The unfortunate result may be the reinforcement of already existing linguistic ethnocentrism, as teachers are armed with "scientific" justification to "stamp out dialect."

A further consequence is that even highly sophisticated writers are tempted to approach the Negro dialect solely as if it were totally confining intellectually. Bloom, Davis, and Hess (1965:71) state that " . . .the language which the deprived child learns at home is likely to be inadequate as a tool in conceptualization." Bereiter and Engelmann (1966:24-45) are more forthright, entitling their second chapter "Cultural Deprivation as Language Deprivation." They are refreshingly pragmatic in contending that whatever its intrinsic nature, the Negro dialect is a handicap in the school, and that therefore pre-school remediation should consist of intense language acculturation. Their approach seems to be effective, but this may be more a function of its intensity than of its focus on language. While the degree of validity of their *a priori* assumptions may have little effect upon the result of their pre-school work, it does affect the validity of generalizations which they make about the nature of ghetto culture. For example, their interpretation of Bernstein leads them to state:

> Among disorganized and dispossessed minority groups, however, the culture appears to center around attitudes, interests, a style of life, and a scattering of unorganized beliefs and superstitions so unformalized that they may be transmitted without explanation, argument, or detailed exposition. Deliberate teaching is not a normal or necessary part of the adult role in such cultural groups, and neither the skills nor the language peculiar to teaching are developed and maintained. (1966:33)

This unfortunate sort of hypothesizing discourages serious attempts by researchers to understand the workings of the systems of ghetto communication and ghetto world view on their own terms. While they may not be as tightly organized as those of the mainstream American culture, to assume that there is no regularity in the ghetto life style seems unjustified. Furthermore, to compare the language of disadvantaged young children, who do not fully utilize the full potential of the dialect, with the language of adult middle class speakers, is to further obscure the functioning of the ghetto communication system.

The Influence of World View (Factor 2) upon Language Style (Factor I)

Bernstein can be said to have considered language style as the intervening variable between social class and cognitive style. Schatzman and Strauss (in Smith, 1966:442-455) observed social class differences in language similar to those observed by Bernstein, but attributed these differences in language to the influence of world view. In a sense, Schatzman and Strauss considered cognitive style (world view) as the intervening variable between social class and communication.

Their findings were based on an analysis of interviews with 340 randomly selected white informants from several Arkansas communities which had been struck by tornados. Informants were provided with a stimulus for discourse by the interviewer who asked, "Tell me your story of the tornado." Lower class and middle class informants tended to structure their responses differently. Three of the characteristic differences which appeared in the informants' organization were (ibid.: 443):

1. the number and kinds of perspectives utilized in communication
2. the handling of classification
3. the use of motivational terms

First, lower class informants tended to offer descriptions as seen through their own eyes. They did not define the temporal and spatial location of other actors in their narrative as clearly as they did their own location. They did not tend to take on the role of others in the situation, describing events in terms of others' perceptions. No clear picture of interaction with others emerged.

In contrast, middle class informants described the behavior of others, including classes of others, from their own standpoints rather than from the standpoint of the informant alone (ibid.:444).

Second, lower class informants tended to describe the behavior of particular people rather than classes of people. Actors were often designated by name. Categories of people or acts were described only with great difficulty by lower class informants, who avoided the description of scenes in terms of systematic relationships between people or acts.

The speech of middle class informants contained many classificatory terms. Informants tended to classify actions and persons, and to relate class to class. When concrete illustrations were offered they tended to stand for a general category. " ... some persons couch their whole account of the disaster events in organizational terms, hardly deigning to give proper names or personal accounts. In short, concrete imagery in middle-class communication is dwarfed or overshadowed by the prevalence and richness of conceptual terminology." (ibid.:447).

Third, lower class informants tended to employ motivational terms infrequently. "To the speaker it was quite clear why people did what they did. There was no need to question or to elaborate on the grounds for acts." (ibid.:454). Conversely, middle class informants tended to employ abstract motivational terminology in breaking down diffuse images into classes of acts and events. Rationalization of behavior seemed to be a characteristic activity for the middle class informants (ibid.:454).

The Influence of Non-Verbal Communication (Factor 3) upon Language Style (Factor 1)

As early as 1931, Sapir noted the importance of non-verbal forms of communication in conveying intended meanings and unintended meanings between speakers. He observed that much of non-verbal communication--the language of gesture, body posture, tone of voice, and pace of speech--occurred outside the level of conscious awareness of both the sender and receiver (Sapir, 1931).

Progress toward the development of notational systems for the description and classification of non-verbal communication signs has been made by Trager (1958, 1960) and Pittenger, Hockett, and Danehy (1960) for paralinguistic behavior (tone of voice and similar phenomena), by Birdwhistell (1952, 1957) for kinesic behavior (gestures, body posture, and similar phenomena), and Hall (1965) for proxemics behavior (the culturally conditioned use of space). Presently, the notational systems are not fully developed, and rigorous analysis of nonverbal communication patterns is boyond the scope of this study. However, a brief discussion of the possible influence of non-verbal communication upon the inquiry process will be presented in the section on Findings below. At this point it is sufficient to note that non-verbal as well as verbal communication channels can be employed for the transmission of meanings in a group discussion.

One would expect that an increase in the amount of meaning transmitted through non-verbal channels would be accompanied by a decrease in the amount of meaning transmitted through the verbal channel. For example, as the amount of gesture increases the necessity for using words may decrease. The relative degree of elaboration between the verbal and non-verbal channels may therefore be a source of variation in language style in addition to the factors mentioned by Bernstein.

The Influence of "Shared Context" (Factor 4) upon Language Style (Factor 1)

Definition of the term "meaning" in human communication is difficult (c.f. Ogden and Richards, 1923; Brown, 1958; Osgood, 1953; and Fodor and Katz, 1963.). This has made the formal study of linguistic meaning, semantics, high problematic. However, the issue is not whether or not "meaning" exists, but how it is exchanged in human communication.

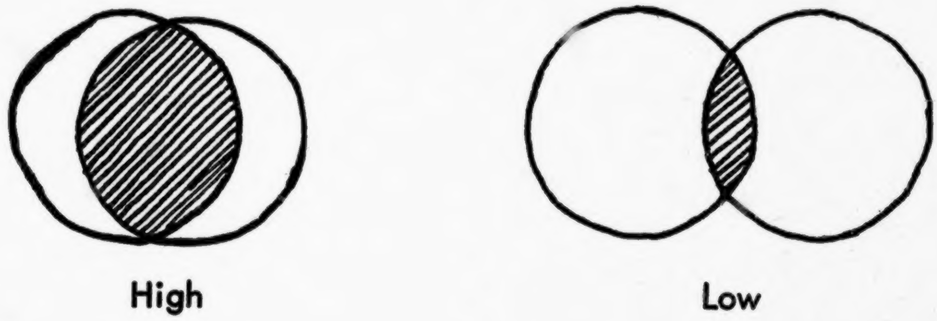
As noted in the section above the necessity for an elaborated verbal code depends in part upon the degree of meaning which must be transmitted through the non-verbal codes that accompany verbal utterances in fact-to-face communication. There is, however, another source of variation in the amount of meaning which the verbal communication channel must convey between speakers. This was described by Sapir in a manner so obvious that it has been overlooked by many later scholars (1931):

> Generally speaking, the smaller the circle and the more complex the understandings already arrived at within it, the more economical can the acts of communication afford to become. A single word passed between members of an intimate group, in spite of its apparent vagueness and ambiguity, may constitute a far more precise communication than volumes of carefully prepared correspondence interchanged between two governments.

One can paraphrase Sapir's statement using Bernstein's terminology, "When two communicators share considerable experience and point of view, restricted linguistic code utterances can function as precisely as elaborated linguistic code utterances." This paraphrase changes quite profoundly the character of Bernstein's formulation, for Bernstein implies that the restricted code is most appropriate for "non-intellectual" communication and that it has a limiting effect upon cognitive development. When Sapir's insight is formulated systematically it provides a framework within which the observations of Bernstein and Schatzman and Strauss regarding the nature of lower class speech begin to make more sense at the theoretical level as well as at the descriptive level.

The phenomenon described by Sapir will be designated in the remainder of this report by the terms *high situational context communication* and *low situational context communication*. "High situational context"and "low situational context" are considered as the ends of a continuum. "High context" refers to a communication situation in which the participants share a great deal of experience and point of view. "Low context" refers to a communication situation in which the participants lack common experience. This is illustrated by Figure 2, in which the degree of sharing between two communicators appears as an area of overlap (shaded area). High context communication can be employed to discuss matters that fall within the area of overlap, and low context communication can be employed to discuss matters that fall just outside the perimeter of the shaded area. As the area of overlap increases, more and more can be discussed in the high context manner of communication.

Figure 2. Areas of High and Low Context Communication



High

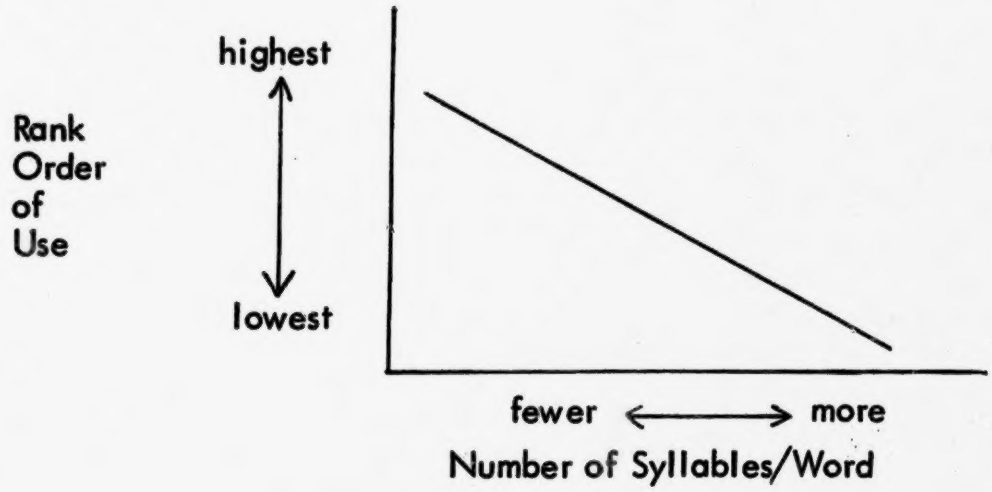
Low

What is being discussed is the effect of *situational* context upon word usage, not just the effect of *linguistic* context. Perhaps the most extreme form of a high situational context would be one in which two people were engaged in performing a familiar manual task, for example, two plumbers loosening a pipe. Plumber A could say to Plumber B, "Now!" and Plumber B would understand that Plumber A meant, "It is time for you to hand me the medium-sized pipe wrench." In the face-to-face situation Plumber A could signal that he wanted a pipe wrench by a gesture or eye glance--he could also identify by these non-verbal means *which* wrench he wanted. Hence his message would be highly precise even though he were employing a restricted code linguistic utterance. However, in the most extreme form of high situational context, Plumber A would not even need to resort to a non-verbal communication channel to make his meaning clear. If the two plumbers had worked together for some time, Plumber B would already know at what point in the process of loosening the pipe it would be necessary to use the medium-sized wrench. Thus Plumber A's "Now!" would be completely unambiguous to Plumber B because of the high degree of experience shared by the two.

One would expect that in terms of Sapir's concept of "economy of communication," as the communication situation increases in the direction of high context, the number of words necessary for unambiguous communication will decrease. Presumably, if the orientation and experience of two speakers were totally shared, no words would be necessary for communication. If a relationship could be demonstrated between the degree of elaboration (volume) of a linguistic utterance and the degree of high or low context between the speakers, then this could provide an operational definition of high and low context communication.

Support for such an operational definition may be provided by considering the phenomenon known as "Zipf's Law." (Zipf, 1935, 1949). In a study of written and spoken texts from a wide variety of language families, Zipf found among other things that the rank order of frequency of use of a word bore a linear relationship to its size in syllables. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 3.

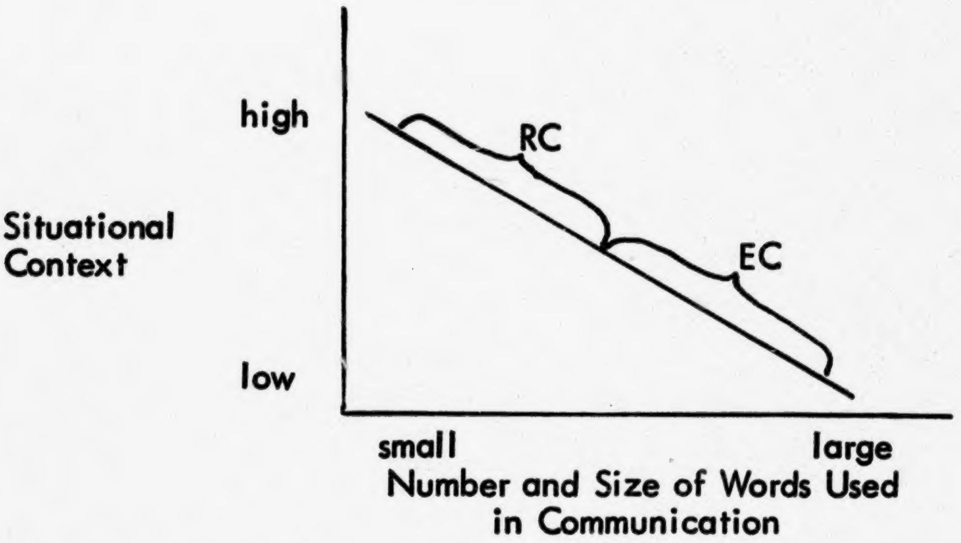
Figure 3. Word Usage Related to Length



One of the implications of Zipf's Law is that a short word tends to be flexible in that it may have many possible meanings associated with it (for example, "now" or "this"), while longer words are less flexible in that they tend to have relatively precise meanings. Thus in high situational contexts, short words can be employed economically and unambiguously, while in low situational contexts, longer words are necessary to avoid ambiguity. Zipf's Law therefore provides indirect evidence for an operational definition of high context communication as that in which small words are employed in short utterances.

If situational context lies on a continuum, and if situational context affects language style, one would expect to find shifts in the style of language employed to occur in any group engaged in discussion as the group shifts between more familiar and less familiar topics. Thus in the Sounds of Society data one would expect to find shifts back and forth between the use of restricted linguistic code and the use of elaborated linguistic code, and one would expect these shifts to occur in all discussion groups, whether the groups were composed of middle class white youngsters or "disadvantaged" Negro youngsters. This is illustrated in Figure 4 below.

Figure 4. Situational Context, Language Style, and Volume of Language



RC = Restricted Code
EC = Elaborated Code

The Influence of Cultural World View (Factors 6 and 7) upon Inquiry Style (Factor 9)

There is considerable cross-cultural variability in fundamental a priori assumptions as to the nature of "reality" and of causation. A culture provides its members with an organized way of looking at the world which is so taken for granted that culture members may be unaware that their perceptions of "reality" are culturally biased. When the fundamental assumptions are stated verbally they may appear to be truisms to the culture member.

Variations in world view also exist between subcultures within a total culture. Since the *Sounds of Society* data contains examples of informal inquiry from two subcultures of American society, it is probable that some of the variability in the data can be due to differences in subcultural world view as well as differences in language style and situational context.

The work of Schatzman and Strauss cited previously in this section identifies some of the differences in world view which appear to exist between social class subcultures in the United States. Their account of the characteristic descriptive style of rural lower class Arkansans in many ways can be applied to the descriptive style of the urban lower class Negro informants in the *Sounds of Society* sample. However, another feature of subcultural world view appears to affect the type of reasoning employed in group inquiry. Differences in inquiry style appear to be affected by differences in a priori assumptions about the nature of causation and acceptable evidence.

This has been partially demonstrated by Rosenthal (1966) in a study of "disadvantaged" white and Negro young people in Boston.

By way of further illustration it is appropriate to cite the work of Charles Erasmus (1952, see also Albert, 1964), who suggested a relationship between the inquiry style of a culture and its value system. He maintained that members of certain primitive cultures employ "scientific" processes of induction even though the conclusions of their inquiry may seem "unscientific." The conclusions may differ from those arrived at in Western scientific inquiry because the processes of induction are based upon different postulates, termed "posits" by Erasmus (1952:422).

A "posit" is defined as " . . . a statement which we treat as true although we do not know whether it is so." Erasmus states, " . . . we try to select our posits in such a way that they will be true as often as possible" (1952:422). He cites as an example the folk belief system of Indians in Equador, in which it is posited that a quality of "coldness" in cooked food left standing causes food poisoning (1952:413, 423). This posit can be empirically verified, since food poisoning does result from eating food left standing. The Western system of disease etiology based on a posit of "germ theory can also be empirically verified. Erasmus suggests that it may be easier for Indians to change from folk to scientific beliefs regarding diesase when therapeutic rather than preventive medicine is involved (1952:422). It is easier to demonstrate empirically the results of scientific posits in therapeutic medicine, while the Equadorian Indian must take the posits of preventive medicine "on faith."

An analogy may be drawn between differing folk and scientific disease etiology in Equador and differing explanations for social causation advanced by "disadvantaged" and "advantaged" culture members in the United States. One would expect that among young people the style of reasoning of the "advantaged" would be based more upon "scientific" posits than would that of the "disadvantaged." Many members of the "advantaged" upper middle class however--John Birch Society members, for example--may be as "unscientific" in their notions of social causation as the "disadvantaged" seem to be. Many Americans may approach "scientific" explanations of social causation with the same scepticism the Indians of Equador reserve for the posits of preventive medicine.

In sum, communication factors alone are unable to account for differences in inquiry style between culturally different groups. For this reason a discussion of differences in a priori assumptions and in the use of evidence between the "disadvantaged" and "advantaged" subgroups within the Sounds of Society population is included in the Methods and Findings sections which follow.

Little research appears to exist on the means by which the core values and fundamental assumptions of group members are actualized in their inquiry behavior. Since the values and assumptions are so taken for granted that they lie outside the level of conscious awareness, one would not expect them to be communicated at the verbal level. Non-verbal reactions of the total group to individual speakers, however, seem to provide indications of the values and assumptions of the group.

It seems that groups reward (positively sanction) individual members for conformity to group norms, and punish (negatively sanction) individual members for deviance from those norms. These rewards and punishments appear to be exerted through non-verbal communication in regular cycles of group feedback to individual speakers. In conference with Edward T. Hall (Personal Communication, October 3, 1967) it was decided to term these feedback cycles positive and negative reinforcement schedules. Accurate observation of the detailed operation of these schedules has proved quite difficult. This problem is discussed further in the Methods section below. However, observation indicates that the schedules do exist. The study of their effect upon group discussion seems to be a significant area for further research.

METHODS

This section is divided into three major subsections:

1. The Nature of the Sample
2. Preparation of Data
3. Interpretation of Data

Because of the voluntary nature of the discussion program it was not possible to set up rigid experimental controls. We were able, however, to form discussion groups in a variety of neighborhoods throughout the Chicago metropolitan area. Because of the patterns of racial and social class segregation which exist in Chicago, each neighborhood discussion group was quite homogenous in terms of ethnicity and social class, as well as race. This provided us with a consistently differentiated population for cross-cultural comparison.

We found that the presence of observers at the discussion meetings was disruptive and tended to jeopardize the informal atmosphere which was desired. It was thus necessary to change the original plans for collecting data by means of observers as well as tape recordings of the discussions. However, the tape recordings alone provided a rich source of data.

Given the constraints imposed by the voluntary and informal nature of the program, descriptive rather than experimental research was conducted. Primary emphasis was placed on descriptions of discussion group processes, differences between high and low context communication, and world view and inquiry style.

The Nature of the Sample--Discussion Groups and Leaders

1. Yale Brody, Teacher, Arnold Upper Grade Center, Chicago
2. Inez Garber, Teacher, Marconi Elementary School, Chicago
3. Thomas Johlie, Teacher, Jefferson Elementary School, Chicago
4. Gertrude Dworkin, Psychiatric Social Worker
5. Benjamin Williams, Former Principal; Assistant Director, Department of Education Services, Illinois Commission on Human Relations
6. Peter C. Lewis, Former Executive Director, Illinois Governor's Committee on Literacy and Learning; Assistant Dean of Students, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle
7. Harold M. Hoffenkamp, Teacher, Hyde Park High School, Chicago
8. June Cook, Teacher, Low Elementary School, Chicago
9. Marie Seifert, Former Teacher, Skokie School District 73 1/2
10. Barry Goodman, Substitute Teacher, Chicago Public Schools; Master's Candidate, Roosevelt University
11. William Mitchell, Teacher, Hughes Elementary School, Chicago

The Nature of the Sample--Discussion Group Sites

	Agency	Address	Group Leader
1.	Sears-Roebuck Y. M. C. A.	3210 West Arthington Chicago	Inez Garber

2. Isham Y. M. C. A.	1515 West Ogden Avenue Chicago	Thomas Johlie
3. Harvey Y. M. C. A.	178 East 155th Street Chicago	Yale Brody
4. Hyde Park Y. M. C. A.	1400 East 53rd Street Chicago	Gertrude Dworkin
5. Park Ridge Y. M. C. A.	1515 West Touhy Park Ridge	Barry Goodman
6. Southwest Y. M. C. A.	Trinity Methodist Church 9848 South Winchester Beverly Hills	Barry Goodman
7. Southtown Y. M. C. A.	6545 South Union Chicago	Gertrude Dworkin
8. C. A. M. Academy	4201 West Jackson Boulevard Chicago	Inez Garber, Ben Williams
9. Ida B. Wells Housing Project	Pershing Road at South Parkway, Chicago	William Mitchell
10. Abraham Lincoln Centre	700 East Oakwood Chicago	Peter C. Lewis
11. Volutiers Social Club	6620 South Woodlawn Chicago	June Cook
12. Hyde Park Union Church	5600 South Woodlawn Chicago	Harold M. Hoffenkamp
13. Oak Park Y. M. C. A.	St. Attracta High School 49th Avenue and 13th Street, Cicero	Inez Garber
14. Auburn-Highland Y. M. C. A.	1155 West 81st Street Chicago	Barry Goodman
15. Leaning Tower Y. M. C. A.	Edgebrook Community Church, Edgebrook	Marie Seifert

The Nature of the Sample--Sites by Racial and Class Composition of Neighborhoods

Lower Class Negro

1. Sears Y. M. C. A.
2. Isham Y. M. C. A.
3. Southtown Y. M. C. A.
4. C. A. M. Academy

5. Ida B. Wells Housing Project
6. Abraham Lincoln Centre
7. Hyde Park Union Church
8. Volutiers Social Club
9. Auburn-Highland Y. M. C. A.

Upper Middle Class White

1. Hyde Park Y. M. C. A.
2. Park Ridge Y. M. C. A.
3. Southwest Y. M. C. A.
4. Leaning Tower Y. M. C. A.

Lower Middle Class White

1. Harvey Y. M. C. A.
2. Oak Park Y. M. C. A.

The Nature of the Sample--Sites by Geographic Location

Urban

- Chicago Inner City--Near North Side
    1. Isham Y. M. C. A.
- Chicago Inner City--South Side
    1. Ida B. Wells Housing Project
    2. Abraham Lincoln Centre
    3. Southtown Y. M. C. A.
    4. Hyde Park Union Church
    5. Auburn-Highland Y. M. C. A.
    6. Volutiers Social Club
- Chicago Inner City--West Side
    1. Sears Y. M. C. A.
    2. C. A. M. Academy
- Chicago Lake Front--South Side
    1. Hyde Park Y. M. C. A.

Suburban

- Southern Suburbs
    1. Harvey Y. M. C. A.
    2. Southwest Y. M. C. A.

Northern Suburbs

1. Park Ridge Y. M. C. A.
2. Leaning Tower Y. M. C. A.

Western Suburbs

1. Oak Park Y. M. C. A.

The Nature of the Sample--Calendar

Phase I Planning and Staff development
September through December 1966

Phase II First round of discussion groups
January through April 1967

a. 2 inner city groups
b. 2 suburban groups

Phase III Second round of discussion groups
April through June 1967

a. 3 inner city groups
b. 2 suburban groups

Phase IV Third round of discussion groups
June through August 1967

a. 2 inner city groups

October through December 1967

a. 4 inner city groups
b. 3 suburban groups

Phase V Final Analysis of data and preparation of report
December 1967 through January 15, 1968

The Nature of the Sample--Stimulus for Discussion

Discussion groups in the Sounds of Society program met ten times for approximately an hour and fifteen minutes per meeting. The meetings were held once or twice a week through a period of ten or five weeks respectively. The meeting was opened by the group discussion leader who played a popular record on a portable record player. After the group had listened to the record, the leader asked the group to react to the social situation presented in the song lyrics. Since the songs played for the groups were selected from current popularity indices prepared by Chicago area radio stations, the songs were familiar to discussion group members. Popular song lyrics function as a sort of contemporary "folk literature" among young people (c. f. Keil,1966 and Hayakawa, 1955). In this body of literature a number of repeated motifs, stock characters, and standard social situations predominated. Three of the most prevalent motifs deal with kinds of interpersonal relationships--boy-girl relationships, parentchild relationships, youth-adult society relationships. Actors in these situations, for example teenage boy vis-a-vis teenage girl, behave in predictable ways according to role orientations which are familiar to the discussion group members.

Playing a popular song before beginning discussion functioned as a catalyst for discussion and provided a loose framework within which the discussion group could operate. Since the same records were played in different discussion groups and provided loose structure for the discussion it was possible to compare the reactions of different groups to the same record. Discussion format was extremely informal, and group members tended to react to the record somewhat indirectly. The record as a stimulus in effect took on the characteristics of a projective device. In reacting to the social situation presented on the record, teenage discussion members began to talk about themselves. They began to talk about why the song lyric was popular, why the actors in the social situation behaved as they did, and why the song lyric was or was not a realistic picture of the kind of situation it described. Thus the group became engaged in informal inquiry into the dynamics of human behavior. The inquiry process was a very informal one. Profiles of the discussion did not follow the contours of models for formal inquiry or scientific method. Different groups spent different amounts of time on actual inquiry as contrasted with conversation. As the groups continued to meet through time, their ability to focus on a topic and to examine it more thoroughly increased.

Records were chosen for discussion whose lyrics presented one of two social situations--the boy-girl relationship, and the youth-community (or self-society) relationship. Each group was allowed to choose some records for discussion during the series.

Two records were held constant throughout all groups. The first was Bernadette, sung by the Four Tops, a Negro recording group popular in the ghetto. The lyrics of Bernadette present a boy-girl social situation. They are found on page A-1 of the appendix to this report. The second song discussed in all groups was Tobacco Road, sung by the Negro performer, Lou Rawls. The lyrics of this song present a youth-community social situation. They are found on page A-2 of the Appendix.

Both songs were introduced in the Chicago area on the radio station with the largest Negro teenage audience, WVON. Songs which reach the top of the popularity listings on WVON are usually broadcast on the two radio stations with the largest teenage white audiences, WLS and WCFL. Bernadette and Tobacco Road are songs which were broadcast on both WVON and WLS and WCFL. Hence both suburban groups and inner city groups had been exposed to the songs before they were discussed in the group meetings. Bernadette and Tobacco Road formed the stimulus for discussion in the first two meetings of each discussion group. Typescripts of these meetings were the source of data for analysis.

Preparation of Data--the Typescripts

The first typescripts from the Sounds of Society discussion groups failed to provide an accurate reproduction of the discussion processes heard on the tapes. In nearly all the groups, and particularly in the inner city ones, there was seldom only one linear stream of discussion. Instead, there were series of "central" topical interchanges accompanied by extraneous or background comments. At many points, two or more group members talked at once, or a new speaker began before the previous one had finished. A question could elicit several almost simultaneous responses, or a comment provoke a chorus of mutual assent or dissent. This last phenomenon was termed "echoing" when two or more group members responded in the same terms. For example:

WHY DO YOU THINK HE
WANTS TO [BLOW IT UP]
SO QUICKLY?

He tired.
He tired of it.
He tired of it, that's all.
Yeah man, he tired.

While the old "one-channel" method was inadequate for indicating simultaneous speakers and conversations, present recording techniques did not allow the "full-channel" identification and transcription of each individual speaker. Therefore, an intermediate system was devised whereby speakers were identified by role or function in a three-column arrangement. The left-hand column contains utterances by a "primary" speaker or questioner (often the group leader); the right-hand column contains responses and utterances by a "secondary" speaker; and the middle column contains background remarks, brief interjections, and some longer utterances by a third major speaker.

Speeches are still numbered in order of occurrence (although this may be arbitrary when two or more speakers begin at once), but simultaneous speeches can be placed opposite each other in different columns and echoes are grouped together more closely approximating their occurrence in time. The following pages demonstrate two samples of "old" and "new" typescripts.

This is an excerpt from a discussion of Tobacco Road in the "old" style.

467. BUT HE DOESN'T OWN TOBACCO ROAD. HE DOESN'T SAY HE OWNED IT. THAT'S JUST WHERE HE WAS BORN.

468. Well, he has to own something there. Tobacco Road, uh, I don't think he means the whole place. He gonna tear down and build over what's his, or tear down and build over what's his friend's, or something.

469. He might, yeah, he might tear down and build the whole place.

470. But Tobacco Road doesn't belong . . .

471. HE'S GONNA GET A CRANE AND DYNAMITE AND HE'S GONNA REMOVE ALL THE BUILDINGS AND HE'S GONNA BUILD A NEW TOWN.

472. But they would appreciate this but we wouldn't appreciate nobody tearin' down all our buildings.

473. That's right. We wouldn't.

474. Why not?

475. Uh, now like if they're gonna tear down our buildings and give me someplace to stay in the meantime, I wouldn't mind.

476. Oh well, if they're gonna tear down your building and fix it up, what's wrong with that?

477. Why fix it up?

478. Why tear it down? Why tear it down?

479. It's not no Dead End Street.

480. Well if it was . . .

481. Well if it was, I would appreciate this, but seein' as it isn't, I wouldn't appreciate it at all.

The next page shows the same excerpt in the "new" style.

467. BUT HE DOESN'T OWN TOBACCO ROAD. HE DOESN'T SAY HE OWNED IT. THAT'S JUST WHERE HE WAS BORN.

468. Well, he has to own something there. Tobacco Road, uh, I don't think he means the whole place. He gonna tear down and build over what's his, or tear down and build over what's his friends, or something.

469. He might, yeah, he might tear down and build the whole place.

470. But Tobacco Road doesn't belong . . .

471. HE'S GONNA GET A CRANE AND DYNAMITE AND HE'S GONNA REMOVE ALL THE BUILDINGS AND HE'S GONNA BUILD A NEW TOWN.

472. But they would appreciate this but we wouldn't appreciate nobody tearin' down all our buildings.

473. That's right. We wouldn't.

474. Why not?

475. Uh, now, like if they're gonna tear down our buildings and give me someplace to stay in the meantime, I wouldn't mind.

476. Oh well, if they're gonna tear down your building and fix it up, what's wrong with that?

477. Why fix it up?

478. Why tear it down? Why tear it down?

479. It's no Dead End Street.

480. Well, if it was . . .

481. Well if it was, I would appreciate this, but seein' as it isn't, I wouldn't appreciate it at all.

This excerpt in the "old" style is from a Bernadette discussion.

185. You say, "I think more people buy it for the beat an' the words." One thing, brother. One thing . . . you coppin' on yourself.

186. And the words. That's a contradiction when you say.

187. I buy it mostly for the beat.

188. No not, that's what I said from the beginning though, that they bought it uh, for both of 'em . . . not for just one thing . . . did you, would you buy a record just, just because of the beat? Or just because of the words?

189. Yes you are.

190. As a individual myself, I buy it mostly 'cuz the beat.

191. Um hum.

192. Call the music, jazz.

193. It depends on the record.

194. Well people, (a lot of stuttering to get into the conversation) . . . the song. It's indi, it's individual thing, because, we buy records that ain't got no words to it. All we buy is jazz, man. Nobody, we don't buy no records with no words no words to 'em. You know?

195. (one or two others talking) Depends on the music.

196. That's what I say.

197. That's what I say.

198. An' didn't I say it was an individual thing?

199. So then you put it like this, like this record called you know, "The Look of Love." You can't hardly hear what she's sayin'. Because that's a jam.

200. Ah, but I can dig it, 'cause, because . . . .

(both speakers drowned out by two or three others)

The same excerpt in the "new" style (next page) shows the relation of the speakers to one another.

185. You say, "I think more people buy it for the beat an' the words." One thing, brother. One thing . . . you coppin' on yourself.

186. And the words. That's a contradiction when you say.

187. I buy it mostly for the beat.

188. No not, that's what I said from the beginning though, that they bought it uh, for both of 'em . . . not for just one thing . . . did you, would you buy a record just, just because of the beat? Or just because of the words?

189. Yes you are.

190. As a individual myself, I buy it mostly 'cuz the beat.

191. Um hum.

192. Call the music, jazz.

193. It depends on the record.

194. Well, people, (a lot of stuttering to get into the conversation) . . . the song. It's indi--, it's individual thing, because, we buy records that ain't got no words to it. All we buy is jazz, man. Nobody, we don't buy no records with no words no words to 'em. You know?

(one or two others talking)
195. Depends on the music.

196. That's what I say.
197. That's what I say.

198. An' didn't I say it was an individual thing?

199. So then you put it like this, like this record called you know, "The Look of Love." You can't hardly hear what she's sayin'. Because that's a jam.

200. Ah, but I can dig it, 'cause, because . . . .
(both speakers drowned out by two or three others)

Interpretation of Data--Interaction Process Instruments

Data were prepared for analysis of interaction process using an adapted form of the Bales Interaction Process Analysis rating schedule (see Appendix D-1) and the Flanders Interaction rating schedule.

Rating with the Bales instrument was conducted using discussion typescripts rather than direct observation. Every utterance was rated by two raters working independently. The raters had a rather low coefficient of agreement--generally between 70 and 80 percent. Not all disagreements were resolved by the raters in conference. Both raters expressed strong opinions that the application of the Bales categories to the inner city typescripts was inappropriate. For this reason little weight is placed upon the Bales data as evidence for the findings presented in the next section of the report.

Rating with the Flanders schedule was conducted by a single experienced rater. Each discussion tape recording was employed together with the discussion typescript as a data source for the rater. The raw data sheets were converted to matrices which were interpreted by an analyst who was not on the program staff. To insure objective interpretation the analyst was not informed as to the nature of the program.

Interpretation of Data--Non-Verbal Communication Instrument

Because of the realization that non-verbal communication played an important role in the inner city group discussions, two videotapes were prepared of inner city discussions. Groups from two agencies participated in the videotaped discussions: a group from Sears-Roebuck Y. M. C. A. on Chicago's West Side, and a group from the Abraham Lincoln Centre on Chicago's South Side.

With the cooperation of a former ghetto resident, the co-investigator prepared a rating schedule for the observation of non-verbal communication behavior. The instrument proved to be too unwieldy to provide highly reliable data, but experience with its use suggested some general comments on the functions of non-verbal communication which are presented in the Findings section below.

Interpretation of Data--Quantitative Analysis of Typescripts

Inner city and suburban typescripts were compared on the basis of three sources of quantitative data:

1. The percentage of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, and "other" employed in each typescript
2. The size of all words employed in each typescript
3. The size of all speaker utterances in each typescript

These measures were selected as the least ambiguous categories for the description of language style.

The results of the tabulations were used to highlight the differences and similarities in language usage both between inner city and suburban samples, and within both samples. High context verbal communication was operationally defined as communication in which there is a relatively low number of words per utterance and in which relatively few large words are employed. Low context verbal communication was operationally defined as communication in which there is a relatively large number of words per utterance and in which relatively many large words are employed. Typescripts were examined to determine whether or not they evidenced shifts between high and low context communication during the course of the discussion, and whether or not gross differences were apparent quantitatively between the inner city groups and the suburban groups.

Interpretation of Data--Qualitative Analysis of Typescripts

A group of six graduate students, four from the discipline of Anthropology and two from English, undertook, together with the co-investigator, a qualitative description of inquiry style, language style, and world view as evidenced in the discussion typescripts. The co-investigator presented the research team with typescripts and set them on an intentionally vague task. He asked that the team look for similarities within the subcultural categories (inner city and suburban) and for differences between them. He also asked that the team examine the typescripts to determine shifts in the type of evidence and reasoning strategies employed by each group. The co-investigator avoided orienting the research team to his theoretical frame of reference in order to determine whether the team might replicate some of his tentative conclusions.

Such replication did occur, providing informal confirmation of the validity of the tentative conclusions presented in this report. While the validity of specific conclusions will remain in question until demonstration is possible through further research, the independent "discovery" of key aspects of the theoretical model presented in the Introduction above suggests that the model may be basically sound.

The research team identified a number of sections in both inner city and suburban typescripts in which shifts of inquiry style occurred. The shifts identified qualitatively by the team coincided in a number of instances with shifts identified by quantitative means. The implications of this are discussed in the Findings section below.

In sum, while the nature of the discussion program precluded an experimental research design, it was possible to make considerable headway through the use of descriptive research. The conclusions reached are by no means final. They may, however, have predictive as well as descriptive value.

FINDINGS

The major (but tentative) findings of the study can be summarized as follows:

1. In "high context" situations, elaborated and restricted codes seem to be equally effective in communicating "abstract" and/or "concrete" concepts. In "low context" situations, elaborated code communication seems to be most often used.

2. Both inner city and suburban groups appear to use relatively "elaborated" and relatively "restricted" linguistic codes. This implies that the two categories of codes are not dichotomous but are continuous, and that they overlap social class and ethnic boundaries.

3. Both inner city and suburban groups shifted back and forth along the continuum of elaborated and restricted code communication. This shift seems to be closely related to change in the degree of "high" or "low" context communication, and to the style of inquiry employed.

4. Although inner city groups tended to employ high context-restricted code somewhat more frequently than suburban groups, the degree of difference between the two is not great enough to be statistically significant.

5. A number of examples of highly abstract reasoning communicated in high context-restricted code were found in inner city typescripts.

6. The inquiry style of suburban groups tends (with exceptions) to be linear, while the inquiry style of inner city groups tends (with exceptions) to be non-linear. When inner city groups employ the linear inquiry style it seems to be usually through the use of if-then propositions supported by the use of concrete behavioral examples as evidence. Both the linear and the non-linear styles can be seen to be "logically consistent" when interpreted on their own terms.

7. The inner city inquiry style appears to be empirical and inductive, with quite rigid constraints imposed by fundamental assumptions. The suburban inquiry style appears to be more deductive and speculative, with less rigid but nonetheless powerful constraints imposed by fundamental assumptions, and with less internal consistency than the inner city inquiry style.

8. While the inner city inquiry style seems limited by its fundamental assumptions the suburban style seems limited by a lack of employment of concrete behavioral evidence. Inner city groups tend to employ "truisms" arrived at by inductive means, while suburban groups tend to employ "truisms" arrived at by deductive means.

9. When individual inner city group members deviate from fundamental cultural assumptions they appear to be negatively sanctioned by the

group as a whole. Conformity to fundamental assumptions appears to be positively sanctioned. These sanctions (schedules of positive and negative reinforcement) seem to be applied through the use of non-verbal as well as verbal signals.

The Informal Character of Group Discussion

The examples of typescript which appear in the Methods section above and in Section C of the Appendix illustrate the informality of the discussions which formed the sample for analysis. This informality was further confirmed by the application of the Flanders interaction scale to six of the tape recordings of group discussion. A summary of the findings is contained in Figure 5 below. The key to the code numbers which identify groups is found at the beginning of Section C of the Appendix.

Figure 5. Summary Table--Flanders Interaction Scale

	Gr.1 IC-3a	Gr.2 IC-3b	Gr.3 S-Ib	Gr.4 IC-7b	Gr.5 S-5a	Gr.6 S-4b
Student Talk/ Teacher Talk	.72	8.0	3.70	.393	1.4	.73
Revised Indirect/ Direct Ratio	6.0	18	11.5	.30	23	19
Teacher Direction Ratio	31%	4.4%	8.2%	49.3%	25%	45%
Steady State Ratio	32.4%	46.8%	40.3%	56%	47.5%	67.9%
Class Interaction (= 100 - Steady State Ratio)	67.6%	53.2%	59.7%	44%	52.5%	33%

Groups I, 2, and 3 were led by one leader and Groups 4, 5, and 6 were led by another. Note that the profile of Group 3 (suburban) is quite different from those of Groups I and 2. Note also that the profile of Group 4 (inner city) is quite different from those of Groups 5 and 6.

This indicates that the group leaders changed their style quite markedly when working with inner city or suburban young people. Note that despite these changes, the measure of indirect questions received unusually high scores (with the exception of Group 4--for this reason the data from Group 4 were omitted from consideration in this report).

Furthermore, the Flanders ratings indicate no criticism expressed by the leader.

Thus the inquiry behavior of the leader appears to have been less direct and more accepting than that of many traditional classroom teachers. One can infer from this that the group discussions took place in an "open" atmosphere, and that the informal behavior of the group members was likely to be more "real" than that which could be observed in a traditional classroom.

The Discussion Stimulus as a "Situational Frame"

A popular record was played at the beginning of each group discussion. Each record presented a type of social situation; for example, a boy-girl relationship (see the lyrics to the song Bernadette in Section A of the Appendix). It was found that groups tended to stay within the "frame" provided by the record lyric. While groups might leave the topic of the record itself, they continued to talk within the "frame" of boy-girl relationship in most instances.

This is significant in that it demonstrates the utility of a popular record lyric or a similar stimulus in the interviewing process. The presentation of informants with a "situational frame" rather than with direct questions changes the character of the interview and seems to elicit more reliable responses. As the informant becomes more involved with the "frame" the interviewer's role becomes less intrusive. John Collier (1967) has employed an analogous technique using a series of photographs as "frames" for structuring the interview.

Situational Context, Social Class, and Language Style

There was a difference between inner city and suburban groups in the type of language employed in discussion, as indicated by the computation of the mean number of words per utterance (see Figure 6 below).

As indicated in the diagram, inner city groups tended to use shorter utterances than suburban groups. The most extremely "disadvantaged" groups are listed first in the diagram and the most "advantaged" groups are listed last.

Two groups, IC-1 and S-1, were atypical. IC-1 was a group from the Auburn-Highland neighborhood in Chicago, a residential area on the edge of the Southwest Side Negro ghetto. Group IC-1 was composed of young people from working class families. Their discussions were somewhat formal in terms of process (but not content) and the mean size of utterance in this group was higher than any other group, inner city or suburban, in the sample. One of the research assistants described the group as "trying to talk white." Group S-1 was a group from Cicero, an "industrial suburb" just beyond the western city limits of Chicago. This all-white suburb is bounded on the east by the edge of the West Side Chicago Negro ghetto. Group S-1 was composed from young people from working class families. Their discussions resembled inner city Negro discussions in many aspects of content but not process, the mean size of utterance resembling that of other suburban groups.

Figure 6 suggests that the language style employed by groups was related to their distribution along a continuum of social class and geographic location, ranging from

Figure 6. Mean Words per Utterance for Inner City and Suburban Samples

Group	Number of Utterances	Total Words	Mean Words/ Utterance	Standard Deviation
Inner City				
IC-6a	292	1980	6.781	6.25
IC-6b	171	1372	8.032	9.76
IC-5a	262	2542	9.702	11.53
IC-4b	392	3151	8.038	12.06
IC-3b	218	2854	13.091	18.18
IC-2a	249	2023	8.124	8.37
Atypical Inner City				
IC-1b	50	2086	41.720	152.11
Atypical Suburban				
S-1b	112	1743	15.563	22.85
Suburban				
S-2b	82	1342	16.366	29.09
S-3a	63	1551	24.619	105.55
S-3c	137	3571	26.066	144.43
S-4b	49	957	19.530	8.37
S-5a	132	1491	11.295	13.08
S-5c	196	2651	13.525	21.13
S-5d	120	1420	11.833	16.05

inner city lower class to suburban upper-middle class. Since IC-1 and S-1 are located in the middle of the social class/geographic continuum, their "atypicality" seems understandable.

While Figure 6 indicates a pattern of difference between the inner city and suburban groups, this should be interpreted very conservatively. When the composite means of the inner city groups on the one hand, and the suburban groups on the other, were compared by the chi-square procedure, the differences were not statistically significant. (The value of x^2 was 2.692, which is significant at the .20

level, but not at the .05 level. The variability of standard deviations which can be observed in Figure 6 suggests that the mean may be a misleading descriptive measure. Fisher's *t* test for difference of means was not employed because of the non-random composition of the sample.)

Another quantitative measure for describing differences in language behavior shows even less variability between inner city groups and suburban groups. Figure 7 (below) shows the distribution of the total words employed in the discussion samples across grammatical categories. This provides a description of gross structural features of the inner city dialect and the suburban informal use of "standard English." As indicated in the table there is very little difference between the inner city and suburban samples in terms of the mean percentages in each grammatical category. Furthermore, inspection of the distributions across the row for each group reveals striking similarities in profile.

One explanation for the lack of great difference between the inner city and suburban samples seems to be that each group did not confine itself to one style of language throughout the total discussion. Examination of each typescript revealed marked shifts in language style which seemed to be related to the degree of *shared context* between group members. The shifts in language usage *within groups* are described in Figure 8 (below), in which each example of text is identified by a reference number indicating the group, the record which was the discussion stimulus, and the beginning and ending points of the discussion excerpt. The reference numbers may be used to locate the text examples in Section *C* of the *Appendix*.

It is evident from Figure 8 that shifts in language style do indeed occur in both inner city and suburban informal discussion groups. When the text examples are examined it can be seen that the sections designated "high context" in Figure 8 resemble the type of language described as "restricted code" by Bernstein, and the sections designated "low context" resemble the type of language described by Bernstein as "elaborated code." This suggests that language style varies markedly with the degree of *shared context* as well as with *social class*. It would seem that both inner city and suburban groups employ relatively restricted and relatively elaborated linguistic codes at points in the discussion in which the degree of shared context makes the use of one linguistic code or the other most appropriate. In other words, structural features of the data appear to resemble those of the conceptual framework illustrated in summary fashion in Figure 4 above (*Introduction* section). This suggests that the framework may have considerable value in placing the elaborated and restricted codes in a more holistic perspective, for while the use of the elaborated code may be characteristic of middle class speakers in *formal* situations, it does not seem to be necessarily characteristic in informal situations. The language usage of groups appears to shift back and forth on a continuum between *elaborated* and *restricted* code, and the shifts seem to be related to *change in the degree of shared context*.

An example of a shift in the direction of high context communication can be found in the suburban group 5 (S-5d: Lines 80-97), in which the group was discussing one aspect of the boy-girl relationship frame, the degree of sexuality in the relationship. The leader asked the question, "Do you think a fella can break down a girl's moral standards?" A number of group members responded in high context fashion. One member responded (Line 85), "Time." In a low context situation this response would be meaningless. As part of the high context face-to-face communication situation, the meaning of the statement is clear. The statement can be translated into a low con-

Figure 7. Mean Words (in %) by Grammatical Category

Inner City (N = 5)	Noun	Pronoun	Adjec.	Adverb	Verb	Conjunc.	Art. & Prep.	Other	Total
IC-6a	.138	.297	.034	.043	.213	.056	.108	.113	1.002
IC-6b	.124	.269	.049	.099	.235	.043	.109	.070	.998
IC-4b	.107	.307	.061	.051	.223	.085	.085	.080	.999
IC-3b	.123	.322	.047	.090	.202	.058	.117	.040	.999
IC-Ib	.186	.211	.056	.047	.242	.112	.101	.045	1.000
Mean	.137	.281	.049	.066	.223	.071	.104	.070	
Suburban (N = 5)									
S-2a	.105	.271	.064	.061	.212	.091	.104	.093	1.001
S-2b	.101	.255	.074	.090	.206	.102	.112	.060	1.000
S-3a	.119	.248	.080	.073	.197	.092	.113	.078	1.000
S-4b	.126	.272	.068	.045	.225	.050	.160	.055	1.001
S-5a	.092	.271	.057	.102	.234	.075	.110	.058	.999
Mean	.109	.263	.069	.074	.215	.082	.120	.069	

Figure 8. High-Low Context and Size of Utterance

	High Context		Low Context	
Group	Lines	Mean Words/ Utterance	Lines	Mean Words/ Utterance
Inner City				
IC-6a	262-283	4.24	284-305	5.87
IC-5a	200-247	7.67	58-99	17.84
IC-4b	329-391	6.64	495-525	20.37
IC-2a	25-52	6.11	78-104	7.43
IC-1b	30-41	27.00	62-77	34.70
Suburban				
S-1b	16-27	28.64	141-159	10.57
S-2b	80-111	10.79	6-38	18.83
S-5a	84-105	10.78	23-39	18.55
S-5c	75-107	9.54	213-236	29.52
S-5d	80-98	11.31	1-14	17.64

text utterance as follows: "I think that the length of the relationship is what affects the girl's receptivity to sexual advances."

Inner City and Suburban Differences in Inquiry Style

Two main styles of inquiry appeared in the typescripts. The first seems to be based upon speculation and the second upon empirical evidence. Suburban groups tended more toward speculative inquiry and inner city groups tended more toward empirical inquiry, although these distinctions are not absolute.

The speculative style of inquiry is characterized by the linear presentation of a series of logical relationships between relatively abstract concepts. The abstractions are stated propositionally, as in the statement (adapted from S-5: Lines 25-33), " . . . I think that what the person says in this record is gettin' at is, is the need, love is the need.---The animal instinct you mean?---He seems to be insecure, I think."

In this example the logical relations between assumed motivations and behavior are presented in linear fashion. The chain of reasoning progresses without reference to concrete examples of behavior. The inquiry is problem-centered in that the group perceives gaps in the linkages between cause and effect. These gaps become the problem. Group members are not sure why the boy they are talking about (who is not a real person, but is used as a "type") is behaving as he does. The group arrives at an explanation of the "typical" boy's behavior by filling the gaps between cause and effect with inferences. If the inferences are perceived by the group as logically consistent, the "problem" is solved. As in the example above, the cause-effect relations are often truisms.

This type of inquiry seems to have been employed more frequently by suburban groups than by inner city groups. However, inner city groups employ a modified form of speculative inquiry by stating "if-then" propositions using concrete behavioral examples for the terms of the proposition. For example (IC-3: Lines 128-129), "Used to, they used to come by and they used to sweep the streets all the time--Now they won't even do that any more." In this statement the proposition is implied "If they (the city sanitation department) would sweep the streets, then the neighborhood would not look so dirty (and whites would not think that the Negro residents don't care)."

The empirical style of inquiry is characterized by the non-linear presentation of a cluster of behavioral examples which demonstrate the proposition under discussion (the proposition being often left unstated). Very often the "conclusion" is already present in an unstated fundamental assumption. In the example cited above, the assumption (which underlies much of the discussion which precedes and follows the example) is that "ghetto residents are the victims of circumstance and are not entirely responsible for the conditions of the neighborhood." In support of this assumption many concrete incidents are brought forward by the group members.

The empirical style of inquiry seems to have been employed more frequently by inner city groups. In one sense this style might be described as less "problem-centered" than the speculative style. This would be misleading, however, since in a number of cases disagreement over fundamental assumptions caused heated arguments in which conflicting behavioral examples were cited (see IC-4b: Lines 324-366). Suburban groups occasionally cited specific behavioral examples during the course of inquiry, but the behavioral data tended to be drawn from vicarious experience--books, magazines, and motion pictures--with but few exceptions. Less sophisticated suburban groups (see S-2b: Lines 28-36) used behavioral data more frequently than more sophisticated suburban groups. One suburban speaker made indirect reference to personal experience in the middle of a relatively "speculative" discussion of the boy-girl relationship (S-5a: Lines 85-105). The group was discussing the probable effectiveness of a boy's trying to win back the affection of a girl through the "Joe Cool" stance. In the middle of the discussion one boy commented, "It's not working right now. I'm here to tell you." (Line 103)

It is important to recognize that the use of behavioral data by inner city groups is not merely gossip, but appears to function in a systematic manner. The tendency to use behavioral data in inquiry may be related to social class world view and may also be a function of the intensity and range of social contacts experienced by inner city young people. As one research assistant pointed out, inner city young people may see much more behavior, due to conditions of crowding and greater openness, of the sort which is kept "private" in suburbia. Inner city young people seem to be considerably more aware of some aspects of real behavior (as contrasted with ideal behavior) than suburban young people. With a large storehouse of data available it is understandable that the data is employed in inquiry.

There seems to be a relationship between the three factors--language style, degree of context, and style of inquiry. As suburban groups and inner city groups appear to be talking about more familiar things (degree of context) they seem to talk in shorter utterances (with more speakers overlapping one another), to use a more restricted linguistic code, and to employ behavioral data in the inquiry process. The nature of the relationship between language style, context, and style of inquiry is not presently clear, but some relationship does appear to exist. The most significant implication of this phenomenon is that the degree of shared context and the style of inquiry appear to vary together for *both inner city and suburban groups*.

In any event, when one recognizes the systematic way in which behavioral data is employed in the inquiry process by inner city young people, it appears that they are often using *specific instances* to stand for *general categories*. One need not assume that the meaning of the specific instance cited by the group stops at the "concrete" level. For example in IC-3a: Lines 127-186, the group discussed what was wrong with their inner city neighborhood and why it was difficult to effect changes. They referred to their precinct worker, whom they had observed buying votes on election day. They were aware that the precinct worker was a symptom, not a cause, of what was wrong with the Negro ghetto, and cited his behavior as an *example*, not as an *explanation*. This is a similar use of behavioral data to that of the suburban example mentioned above, in which one boy used his experience as an example of the futility of the dependent approach to a girl friend.

This illustrates the danger of overgeneralization about the "concrete" terms employed in inner city groups and the danger of contrasting these terms directly to "abstract" terms employed in suburban groups. The assumption made by Bernstein that lower class speakers tend to deal more in the "concrete" than do middle class speakers may be justified, but Bernstein's schema does not take into account the *function* of "concrete" terms, concepts, and examples, as they may be employed in *actual* conversation by lower class speakers.

Furthermore, some inner city groups in the Sounds of Society sample appear to have used abstract terms and concepts quite extensively, but in a different manner than that found in suburban groups. For example, IC-6a: Lines 10-140 is a highly abstract inquiry sequence which is constructed around a metaphorical conceit--the "concrete" terms "hand" and "arm" being used to stand for aspects of a boy-girl relationship. This example is particularly interesting in that it is not only a highly abstract conversation but also a high context communication, as evidenced by one group member (who was outside the context) asking repeatedly, "What are you talking about?"

In another inner city conversation an abstraction was aptly expressed through a concrete simile (IC-6b: Lines 44-55). The group was discussing the ambivalence of the relationship between Lou Rawls, the singer of Tobacco Road, and his community, indicated by his singing, "I despise you 'cause you're filthy but I love you 'cause you're home." One group member commented (Line 54), "It's like growin' up with a pair of gym shoes. You know how little kids have a pair of gym shoes, and they don't want to be parted? It's like, that's his home."

A number of inner city groups discussed the problem of whether or not ghetto residents "cared" about their community. One group (IC-4b: Lines 347-391) felt that people did not care because they did not own their homes, or anything else. A long discussion of "ownership" ensued in which concrete examples were cited. The debate centered around an unstated "abstract" proposition regarding motivation, "If ghetto residents had a feeling of ownership, then they would care." There is a further assumption implied, "If people cared, then the neighborhood would improve." This assumption will be examined further below.

Inner City World View and Inquiry Style

The inquiry style of inner city young people in our sample seems to be strongly affected by certain fundamental assumptions about society, social causation, and individual motivation. The assumptions are often unstated. They appear to influence the selection of behavioral examples for "evidence" in the inquiry process. Since examples cited provide validation for the unstated a priori assumption, the "conclusion" or "solution" to the problem may be contained in its initial statement.

One of the fundamental assumptions involves scarcity:

a. There is not enough "good" (money, power, security) available for everyone.

b. Therefore each must "hustle" for what he can get.

c. It is impossible to get people to work together for "common good" because each is too involved in his own "hustle."

Manipulation within the boy-girl relationship frame was discussed with money as a main motivation in IC-6a: Lines 236-257 and IC-5a: Lines 252-259. In IC-6a, one of the boys in the group said, "He (the boy in the song) loved her too much," indicating the danger in trusting anyone else, particularly a member of the opposite sex.

Another fundamental assumption is that money is magic. The desire for money is not only a fundamental motivation in the boy-girl relationship, but in almost any relationship. One can control others and oneself, provided one has money. With money, one could do almost anything. The influence of money within the *community frame* was discussed in IC-3b: Lines 155-186, and IC-4b: Lines 347-391. In IC-3b, behavioral examples of bribing voters at the polls were cited as evidence of what was wrong with the community. That voters would *accept* bribes, however, was agreed upon without argument. In IC-4b, the group argued at some length about whether or not anyone *owned* anything. They felf that the lack of a sense of ownership (which involves possessing the money to *buy* with) was responsible for the low morale of ghetto residents. In IC-1b: Line 10, one of the group members pointed out that Lou Rawls' (the singer of *Tobacco Road*) major motivation was to *earn money*. With money he could come back to his neighborhood and change it.

Another assumption is that fundamental change in the nature of relationships such as those between boy and girl, or fundamental change in the community is virtually impossible as things exist presently. This pessimism was expressed in a number of groups, most concisely perhaps in IC-6b: Line 26, where Lou Rawls' expressions of hope for change were dismissed as a "big wish."

Interestingly, the reasons that change cannot take place are not just that individuals are victims of "the system," but that individuals do not exercise their will to change. For example, the assumption was made in some groups that if people *cared enough*, they would be able to change conditions. This is the source of debates between those who said, "people do care" (implying that they are victims of the system and are not responsible for conditions) and those who said, "people don't care" (implying that they choose to be indifferent and are responsible for conditions). It should be noted that despite the informal language, debates over such abstract topics as "free will or necessity" did occur, even though formal terms may not have been employed in the discussion.

The debates between those who said, "they do care" and those who said, "they don't care" are examples of situations in which there was a conflict over fundamental assumptions. These were the situations in the inner city groups where a strong sense of "problem" appeared to develop. This is understandable if one considers that in the non-linear inquiry style the conclusions are contained in the statement of the problem. If there is no disagreement over assumptions, there is no real "problem." Suburban young people, in contrast, appeared to develop a sense of "problem" over the acceptability of one inference after another in a "chain" of logical relationships. Thus suburban young people could argue over "logical consistency" even though their *a priori* assumptions were just as rigid as those of inner city young people.

An example of the inner city style of dealing with motivation can be found in IC-3b: Lines 232-253. There was no sense of "problem" about motivation--everyone agreed that people are out to "hustle" one another--it was immaterial "why" this is (the "scarcity" explanation is sufficient)--what was most important was to be on one's guard, not to wast time speculating about causes (which are obvious). The assumption was confirmed by a number of examples of real behavior (in contrast to the suburban pattern of using logical consistency as "proof", the inner city pattern seems to be to concentrate on behavior which can be *seen*). The most extreme example was the description of a policeman (known by most of the group members) at a large West Side Chicago high school who sexually molested school girls, threatening them with expulsion if they did not comply. In the face of the overwhelming evidence that experience in the ghetto can provide, who could deny the assumption that manipulation is characteristic of all human relationships?

Such a world view, based on assumptions which are continually verified by observable evidence, can be termed a self-sealing system. Postulates of such a system cannot be refuted, only confirmed, since one can dismiss controverting evidence as "atypical." It should be noted that the "self-sealing" aspect of a world view may be universal--evidence of it is found in our suburban sample as well as in the inner city sample, and it seems characteristic of societies throughout the world, at all levels of complexity. It would seem that the scientific stance of "reserved judgement" is distasteful to most humans. An extreme example of suburban use of the self-sealing system can be found in S-2b, in which the unstated assumption is that "Negroes are lazy and dirty, therefore their neighborhoods look terrible."

While the conclusions arrived at through the use of the self-sealing system may occasionally appear "unscientific," they are not necessarily illogical conclusions. Cognitive processes seem to be involved in setting up a non-linear inquiry system (even though it may be self-sealing) just as they are involved in threading one's way through a linear inquiry system. It does not seem justified, therefore, to imply that one system is cognitively limiting while the other promotes cognitive growth. What seems necessary for groups employing non-linear inquiry to avoid the limitations of "self-sealing" is to devise ways of promoting conflict over fundamental assumptions at the beginning of the inquiry session. In this way a sense of "problem" can develop, and inquiry can proceed productively in non-linear fashion.

Analysis of Themes which Appeared in the Typescripts

The content analysis presented below was restricted to the content of the statements of group members. The content of the group leader's statements was not ignored, but it was assumed that his influence over the broad outlines of the group's discussion was limited. Since the groups were meeting as volunteers, they were free to ignore questions or comments from the leader which did not really interest them. This occurred on a number of occasions; hence the assumption that if the group participated actively in discussing a topic, they must be genuinely interested in it. Since there were two sets of discussions in the sample, those stimulated by the record Bernadette and those stimulated by the record Tobacco Road, each set of discussions is handled separately below in a section prepared mainly by Earle Carlson and Margaret Rosenbloom, two of the research assistants in the program.

Themes in the Discussion of Bernadette

Discussion on this record kept more or less within a framework of boy-girl relationships, although it varied in the extent to which this took the form of discussing the song, or talking of one's own experiences or in generalities. All statements are taken as being indicative of the group's overall experience of and attitude toward boy-girl relationships. We have analyzed the content of the discussion in terms of two dichotomous variables: 1) desirable-undesirable aspects of the relationship, and 2) internal (just boy and girl involved) and external (others also involved) aspects of relationship. These two variables combine to yield four possible aspects of boy-girl relationships:

1. desirable aspects of internal relationship

2. undesirable aspects of internal relationship
3. external factors which reinforce the relationship
4. external factors which weaken the relationship

The content of each group's discussion is set out in summary form in Figure 9.

Figure 9. The Boy-Girl Relationship Frame

	Internal	External
Positive	1. Personal qualities that make the other desirable: "charm," "handsome," "cute," "understanding," etc. (S-2a, S-3a) 2. Deep meaningful relationship with someone who understands you (S-2a, S-3a) 3. Provides peace and security (S-3a, S-5a) 4. Joy of loving (S-5a) 5. Male respect and care for female, providing financial security (S-2a) 6. The woman is his soul (IC-2a, IC-6a) 7. Having many girl friends, each for a different type of relationship (IC-5a)	1. Others want her and envy him (S-2a) 2. Lack of peace and security in world, he turns to her (S-3a) 3. Boys don't find love at home so turn to girlfriends (S-3a) 4. Territoriality, gang protection and provision of boy, girlfriend (IC-5a)
Negative	1. Insincerity (S-3a, S-5a) 2. Desperate, demanding, clutching immaturity (S-3a, S-5a) 3. Girls and boys try to take advantage of each other, make fools of each other; girls "take" boys financially (IC-6a, IC-5a) 4. Girls act snooty and ruin a boy's respect (IC-5a)	1. Tiring of each other, looking for others, being unfaithful (S-5a, IC-2a, IC-6a, IC-5a) 2. Outsiders interfering in relationship a. other guys (IC-2a) b. other gangs (IC-5a) c. other guys with superficial sexual desires (S-3a, S-2) d. parents (S-3a)

The suburban groups emphasize much more the positive aspects of internal relations than do the inner city groups. The main negative aspects are derived directly from the groups' criticism of the inadequacies of the singer, his immaturity, dependency, and desperation. There is, however, an undercurrent of doubt in the suburban groups as to the sincerity of the singer's appeal. Insincerity is a constant threat to the great potential of boy-girl relations.

The inner city groups emphasize much more the hazards of boy-girl relations. One must be on guard against being taken advantage of emotionally or financially, and made a fool of. Girls threaten a boy's respect. The positive aspects included here are quoted from the song rather than being immediate experience--"You are the soul of me." Having several girlfriends is highly valued because each one provides a different service. (N. B. This is a viewpoint expressed in an all-male group.)

In contrasting the external aspects of suburban and inner city boy-girl relations one can point out the differing environments in which they occur. For the suburban groups, parents keep the couple apart. Uncertainty and lack of love in the world in general and in the parental home in particular bring the couple together. For the inner city, gangs with territorial control over girls both provide boys with girls from their own neighborhood and block access to girls in other neighborhoods.

Both sets of groups also show different attitudes towards the "other guys" in the song. The suburban groups emphasize the superficiality of these rivals' physical desires (in contrast to the deep true love of the singer). The inner city groups do not make any distinction between the desires of the singer and of his rivals, taking sexual motivation for granted. Only one of the suburban groups in the sample deals with unfaithfulness, or finding someone else. This is brought up in all three inner city groups in the sample.

A further comparison can be made of the extra-frame discussion by the groups. Only one group (S-2) keeps entirely within the boy-girl frame. Inner city groups diverge into discussion of records, music, how they listen to music, and what goes on behind making a record. (IC-2a, IC-5a) Suburban groups diverge into teenager-adult relationships, the position of the teenager in modern society, and the predicament of modern society in general.

Themes in the Discussion of Tobacco Road

In analyzing *Tobacco Road*, we found a range of variation in the extent to which the group perceive *themselves* as living in the ghetto. This variation is outlined in Figure 10 below.

S-4b and S-2b had no first-hand experience of ghetto condititions and did not identify their own community with a ghetto. The S-1b group criticized their own community for becoming like a slum. IC-6b and IC-1b both had first-hand experience of ghetto conditions but distinguished between their own communities and the "real" ghetto a few blocks away. IC-1b, IC-6b, IC-4b, and IC-3b did not make any distinction between themselves and "others" who lived in even worse conditions. Bearing in mind this difference in orientation, we compared the way in which groups described their community, or another community, their explanations for conditions, and their perceived capacity for changing the situation. This is set out in summary form in Figure 10.

S-4 and S-2 did not talk about their own community but about Negro communities in terms of generalizations. The generalizations employed by S-2 were simpler and more of the nature of "negative stereotypes" than the generalizations employed by S-4.

The level of specificity of *description* is higher in inner city groups than in suburban groups. While the latter talk about "dirt and filth," the former describe actual accumulations of garbage. The inner city descriptions are much more concerned with actual people and events than suburban descriptions. S-4 and S-2 (the outsiders commenting on the ghetto) *explain conditions* in terms of laziness, and the fact that greater effort goes into bolstering faltering self-esteem by displaying flashy material possessions than in community improvement.

In S-1b, the only explanation of the dirt and filth is a pragmatic reference to local industries.

Figure 10. Community Frame

	Description	Explanation	Efficacy
IC-6b	Skid row, dirty and filthy, small broken down shacks, no facilities, bad roads, inner city slum, poverty, condemned. Block parties, dances, Maxwell Street the real ghetto. Garbage accumulating, deterioration of neighborhood.	People are lazy. They care but don't do anything. They have been living here so long if doesn't make any difference.	People should make an effort and show initiative, but they don't. "You could die trying." Can't do anything by oneself, need cooperation. It's just "a big dream" that this place can be improved.
IC-4b	(Little descriptive material given.) The Abraham Lincoln Centre is okay. Need better facilities and food. Describes North Side and people there who are preferred.	People change when they get money (i.e., don't come back and fix up the place). Filthy conditions due to lack of money and care. People don't own property so don't care for it.	Things can be done if you want to, but most people don't want to.
IC-3b	Description of inhabitants and physical conditions of the neighborhood. Description of electoral and police corruption. Unfairness of not being able to vote or drink at 18, though can be sent to Vietnam.	Everyone has a mind of his own, no one cooperates. People make it filthy, failure of city sanitary service. Unkept promises by Mayor Daley. Precinct captain doesn't do anything to help community.	Failure of efforts to organize block. Lack of concern by officials.
IC-1b	Story of trash accumulating in streets, not cleared by street cleaner. Rats and roaches. Deterioration of neighborhood.	People don't care anymore. Have enough troubles of their own.	Unimpressed by demonstration taking garbage to City Hall. People just won't change from the way they have lived all their lives. A bit of paper-picking wouldn't hurt anyone--but they just don't understand.
S-1b	Dark, dirty alleys inviduously compared with other suburbs and country. Not a good place to rasie children. People are frightening. Lots of prejudice and hate.	Dirty because of industry.	Only desire is to get out and never return. Others argue that they have a responsibility to stay and prevent Cicero becoming a slum.

Figure 10. Community Frame (cont'd.)

	Description	Explanation	Efficacy
S-1b (cont'd.)	High school not developed according to plan. Cicero not all bad.		
S-2b	Dirty garbage in hallways, ugly houses. Flashy cars.	Negroes just sit around complaining, throwing trash. Spend all money on flashy car but this just makes it harder.	They would not do anything for the community themselves but get out, get rich, and return to show everyone what can be done by trying. Do not forsee any major obstacles to success once the decision is made to do something.
S-4b	Negro culture emphasizes material, flashy things against a background of slums.	Bad conditions have a crushing effect on personal pride. Children are a burden in a Negro community. Song provides understanding for the background factors of urban rioting.	These conditions lead to concern with individual well-being rather than community action. Negroes are setting goals, making demands, looking for power.

In three inner city groups the emphasis is on indifference born of weariness and being taken up with one's own problems, having gotten used to conditions so that they are no longer obtrusive, and feeling no responsibility to care for property which is not personnaly owned. One group mentions lack of money (IC-4b) and another (IC-3b) blames City Hall especially for inadequate sanitary services. (This was both the most "sociological" and one of the most "disadvantaged" of the inner city discussion groups.)

As fas as efficaciousness is concerned, one can distinguish between attitudes toward getting "up and out" oneself, and attitudes toward improving the community.

S-2 saw no problem for an individual to "rise above" the ghetto; he just has to try. They felt that a successful individual could by example encourage the rest to achieve community improvement. S-4 talked about both the personal orientation of Negro striving and the class basis of recent organization and demands.

S-1 descussed their own community as a ghetto. They felt no problem with achieving personal success, but little involvement or responsibility for improving the community. The goal was to escape.

In both IC-1 and IC-6, community improvement was deemed impossible because of people's inability to change despite efforts to make them do so. They did not discuss personal success, perhaps because their families had already achieved some success. Both IC-4 and IC-3 expressed little hope for community improvement because of the people's lack of cooperation. They felt that City Hall should do more. There was greater emphasis on moving to better neighborhoods, which represented a personal solution to community problems ("get out"), than in the other two inner city groups, who have already "escaped" (at least at one level).

IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are three main implications of the study. The first involves the relationship between language and thought. The second involves the relationship between language style and school achievement. The third involves the role of research on non-verbal messages in the study of communication and cultural values.

Perhaps the most significant finding of the study was that among the middle class whites and lower class Negroes in our sample language and inquiry style, while related to social class, may be more closely related to the degree of shared context between speakers. From this, two implications may be suggested:

1. Differences in experience (hence differences in "context") undoubtedly exist between social classes, but the assumption that these differences, or language differences, are necessarily responsible for gross differences in cognitive style or cognitive ability seem unjustified.

2. The findings of the study may provide a partial explanation for the ability of lower class Negro children to achieve significantly better in integrated settings, despite culturally determined differences in experience and language style. That lower class children do achieve better in integrated settings is evidenced by the reports of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1967), the United States Office of Education (1966), and the report of Project Concern in Hartford (see Mahen, 1967:47). This indicates that the problem of underachievement by Negro children in segregated inner city schools is not simply due to their inability to achieve because of cultural difference. Unfortunately, the misuse of generalizations about the "disadvantaged" has resulted in some cases in the formation of "neo-stereotypes" which provide a rationale for maintaining schools segregated by race and social class in the North. While study described in this report is exploratory, further research on differences in language and inquiry style may provide more rigorous data which can explain the adaptability of Negro students to the integrated school.

Another major finding of the study, although tentative, is the identification of the role of non-verbal communication not only as a channel for conveying meaning in face-to-face discussion, but as a means by which a group can apply schedules of positive and negative reinforcement to its members. From this, two implications may be suggested:

1. There is a need to develop a more adequate descriptive record of the total verbal and non-verbal communication process. This would involve the development of new research technologies (involving the use of television and film) and accurate notation systems for recording non-verbal group behavior.

2. Identification of the points at which a group applies positive and negative reinforcement to its members can provide a behavioral indication of group values. Potentially this could be a far more demonstrably accurate tool for researching values than interview, questionnaire, or participant observation methods.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALBERT, ETHEL M.

n.d. "Macrosemantics" (in process)

1964 "'Rhetoric,' 'Logic,' and 'Poetics' in Burundi: Cultural
Patterning of Speech Behavior," American Anthropologist
66:6:2: 35-54

BEREITER, CARL, and SIEGFRIED ENGELMANN

1966 Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool
Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall

BERNSTEIN, BASIL

1961 "Social Class and Linguistic Development," in
A. H. Halsey, J. Floud, and C. A. Anderson,
Education, Economy, and Society
New York: Free Press of Glencoe

1964a "Aspects of Language and Learning in the Genesis
of the Social Process," in Dell Hymes, ed.
Language in Culture and Society
New York: Harper and Row

1964b "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: Their Social
Origins and Some Consequences," American Anthropologist
66:2: 55-69

BIRDWHISTELL, RAY L.

1952 Introduction to Kinesics
Louisville: University of Louisville Press

1957 "Kinesics in the Context of Motor Habits"
A paper presented to the American Anthropological
Association

BLOOM, BENJAMIN S. ALLISON DAVIS, and ROBERT HESS

1965 Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation
New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston

CARROLL, JOHN B.,ed.

1956 Language, Thought, and Reality: The Basic Writings of
Benjamin Lee Whorf
Cambridge: The M. I. T. Press

1964 *Language and Thought*
Englewood Ciffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall

COLLIER, JOHN

1967 *Visual Anthropology*
New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston

DE CECCO, JOHN P.

1967 *The Psychology of Language, Thought, and Instruction*
New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston

ERASMUS, CHARLES J.

1952 "Changing Folk Beliefs and the Relativity of Empirical Knowledge," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* *8*:4: 411-428

HALL, EDWARD T.

1959 *The Silent Language*
New York: Fawcett

1965 *The Hidden Dimension*
Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday

HALSEY, A. H., J. FLOUD, and C. A. ANDERSON

1961 *Education, Economy, and Society*
New York: Free Press of Glencoe

HAYAKAWA, S. I.

1955 "Popular Songs vs. the Facts of Life," *Etc.* *12*: 83-95

HOIJER, HARRY, ed.

1954 *Language in Culture*
Chicago: University of Chicago Press

HYMES, DELL, ed.

1964 *Language in Culture and Society*
New York: Harper and Row

KEIL, CHARLES

1966 *The Urban Blues*
Chicago: University of Chicago Press

MAHAN, THOMAS W.

1967 *Project Concern*
Hartford, Conn.

PASSOW, A. HARRY

1963 *Education in Depressed Areas*
New York: Teachers College, Columbia University

PITTENGER, R. E., C. F. HOCKETT, and J. J. DANEHY

1960 *The First Five Minutes*
Ithaca, N. Y.: Martineau

RIESSMAN, FRANK

1962 *The Culturally Deprived Child*
New York: Harper and Row

ROSENTHAL, ROBERT A.

1966 "The World Across the Street," *Harvard Graduate School of Education Bulletin* *11*:2: 1-24

SAPIR, EDWARD

1931 "Communication," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*
New York: Macmillan

SEBECK, THOMAS A. ALFRED S. HAYES, and MARY CATHERINE BATESON

1964 *Approaches to Semiotics*
The Hague: Mouton

SMITH, ALFRED G., ed.

1966 *Communication and Culture: Readings in the Codes of Human Interaction*
New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston

TRAGER, GEORGE L.

1958 "Paralanguage: A First Approximation," Studies in Linguistics 13: 1-12

1960 "Taos III, Paralanguage," Anthropological Linguistics 2 :2: 24-30

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, David Cohen, ed.

1967 Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Vol. 1
Washington: U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION, James Coleman, ed.

1966 Equality of Educational Opportunity, Vol. 3
Washington: U. S. Office of Education

VYGOTSKY, L. S.

1962 Thought and Language
Cambridge: M. I. T. Press

ZIPF, GEORGE K.

1935 The Psycho-biology of Language
New York: Houghton-Mifflin

1949 Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort
Cambridge: Addison-Wesley

TOBACCO ROAD

as performed by Lou Rawls

I was born in a dump
My momma died, my daddy got drunk
He left me here to die or grow
In the middle of Tobacco Road

I grew up in a rusty shack
All I owned was hangin' on my back
Lord knows how I loathed
This place called Tobacco Road

But it's home, yeah
The only life I've ever known
But the Lord knows I loathe Tobacco Road

I'm gonna leave and get a job
With the help and the grace of God
I'll save my money, get rich I know
Bring it back to Tobacco Road

Bring dynamite and a crane
Blow it up and start all over again
I'll build a town
Be proud to show
And keep the name, Tobacco Road

Cause it's home, yeah
The only life I've ever known
I despise you cause you're filthy
But I love you cause you're home

Tobacco Road! Tobacco Road!
You're dirty and filthy
Tobacco Road

I'm gonna get me some dynamite and bring me a crane
Blow it up, tear it down, start over again

Tobacco Road! Tobacco Road!
I love you cause you're home
Dirty and filthy, Tobacco Road
I'm gonna blow you up, tear you down, start over again

BERNADETTE

as performed by the "Four Tops"

Bernadette!
Before I was searching for
The kind of love that we possess.

Some go on
Searching their whole life through
And never find the love I found in you.

And when I speak of you I see envy in other men's eyes.
And I'm well aware what's on their minds.
They pretend
To be my friend
When all the time (Sweet Bernadette)
They long to persuade you from my side (Sweet Bernadette)
They'd give the world and all they own
But just one moment. We have love.

Bernadette!
They want you because love dries many tears.
But Bernadette
I want you because I need you near.

But while I live only to held you
Some other men, they long to control you.
But how can they control you, Bernadette (Sweet Bernadette)
When they cannot control themselves, Bernadette? (Sweet Bernadette)
From wanting you, needing you,
But, darling, you belong to me.

I'll tell the world you belong to me.
I'll tell the world you're the soul of me.
I'll tell the world you're part of me.
Oh yes!

In your arms I find the kind of peace of mind the world is searching for.
But you, you give me the joy this heart of mine has always been longin' for.

In you I have
What other men long for.
All they want is someone
To worship and adore.
That's why I trusted you and placed you high above.
'Cause the only joy in life is to be loved.

So whatever you do, Bernadette,
Keep on lovin' me, Bernadette.
Keep on needin' me, Bernadette.

Bernadette, you're the soul in me.
You're the faith, you're planned to me.
And Bernadette, you mean more to me than a woman was ever meant to be.

Those typescripts to which reference is made in the report are included in the Appendix, coded according to group and the song under discussion. Groups included are:

IC-7	Barry Goodman--Auburn-Highland Y. M. C. A.
IC-6	Benjamin Williams--C. A. M. Academy
IC-5	William Mitchell--Ida B. Wells
IC-4	Peter C. Lewis--Abraham Lincoln Centre
IC-3	Inez Garber--C. A. M. Academy
IC-2	Harold M. Hoffenkamp--Hyde Park Union Church
IC-1	Gertrude Dworkin--Southtown Y. M. C. A.
S-1	Inez Garber--Oak Park Y. M. C. A.
S-2	Marie Seifert--Leaning Tower Y. M. C. A.
S-3	Barry Goodman--Park Ridge Y. M. C. A.
S-4	Barry Goodman--Southwest Y. M. C. A. (Fall, 1967)
S-5	Barry Goodman--Southwest Y. M. C. A. (Spring, 1967)

A lower case letter following the code number designates the song:

a = Bernadette (boy-girl frame)

b = Tobacco Road (community frame)

c = Dead End Street (community frame)

d = Never Loved a Man (boy-girl frame)

In the typescripts, the leader's speeches are printed in CAPITAL LETTERS. Words which were not clear on the tape recordings are omitted and indicated by (?). Proper names which were unclear are indicated by (name). Spelling and grammatical construction follow the discussion group members' speech as nearly as possible.

1. But you will, but you will give up the things, right?

2. Nothin' you can do about it.
3. ...snatch it up....
4. ...good point....
5. No.

6. You will give up the things instead of that, right?

7. Naw, I don't think....
8. If you had to.
9. Give her an inch, she'll take a mile. You give a man an inch, he'll take a mile.

10. You right. But if you have to. If you had to, if you had to, looka, looka, if you had to, which'll you give up, your uh.... finger or your hand. Your finger or your hand. Now that's better, your finger or your hand. If you have to.

(talking in background)
11. ...a man, a man....

12. Finger or my arm.

13. A tooth.

14. Oh no, wait a minute. This don't have nothing to do with what we're talkin' about.

15. Yes it do.

16. Go ahead.

17. Okay. Uh, awright, you gotta relate it. A finger or, uh, uh, accordin' to her, and a hand for what?

18. Naw, a hand, a hand, uh.

19. No, see, it ain't got no relation, you know? The opposite.

20. Yes it do.

21. A hand.

22. She his body, you say she his body, right? She's his body. Well, okay, his body is his hand, right? And that's her.

23. Yes.

24. Yeah.

(boy-girl frame)
IC -6a - i

25. Well, now.		26. Now who the finger?
27. Will he give, he give up the finger in order to have the rest of the hand, right?	28. I get it. 29. This is her, uh. 30. You get it ...yeah, yeah. 31. That's right...that's right.	32. Come again, come again. 34. Yeah.
33. Good. You say she his body, right?	35. Hand is the body.	
36. Okay, we is usin' the hand.		37. Oh, I'm goin' use the arm.
	38. Naw, we gon use the hand. 39. The hand is easier. 40. The hand, the arm, 'cause ...you got the hands on 'em. 41. This is a arm. 42. Okay, here's a hand and here's a finger. 43. The hand is a man.	
44. Okay, the hand here. Now look here, if they gon chop off your arm, you know, what would you let 'em, would you let 'em take you hand, or your whole arm?		45. Oh no wait, man.
	46. Take the whole thing off his arm. 47. Take some off...(indistinguishable through next speech)	
48. Look, in other words, he's gonna try with someone he love.		49. He take all or nothing at all.

50. He still want it.	51. On the top, look. This is her....	52. You want take all o' her?
53. On the part where he say, on the part....	54. Y'all be quiet and listen to what I'm trying to co-relate.	
55. It's the point when you said, ah, she can do certain things as long as she keeps the other hand.		
		56. But that's gettin' in on my subject.
	(laugh)	
	57. No, that's not on your subject.	
	58. Siddown.	
59. Yes it is. The subject of Bernadette.	60. Yes it is.	
	61. Uh...	
62. 'Cause this is tough.	63. Hold on, hold on. Oh no wait.	
		64. 'Cause you told, you say she like his body, right?
		65. You want him to take a part of her.
	66. What did I say? 67. Want all of her. 68. That you want her to take a part of her or all of her. 69. Shhh.	
		70. I'm talkin' to (name) now. Shut up.
71. Look, wait, listen now again. You say she like his body.		
		72. Yeah. Uh naw, a part o' his body.
73. A part o' his body.		

76. We'll just say--his arm, then.

78. Okay. She is his arm, now.

80. Okay. She is his arm, now.

82. What, awright, he know he gon lose her, right? So he gon lose his arm, you see.

84. Well, he say, he think he gon lose it, we just say think.

89. He think he gon lose his arm. Yeah, all right, well what would he, what would he rather do, lose his hand or his whole arm? He'll let his hand go, right?

92. When it really comes down.

94. Um hum.

96. Yeah. So dat hurts.

98. Yeah.

75. Jes his hand.

85. I think....
86. I understand.
87. I understand.
88. He think he gon lose his arm.

99. Part of it.
100. Part of it.
101. The whole thing.
102. Part of it.

74. Yeah, and I said like his arm.

77. Yeah.

79. Yeah.

81. Okay.

83. Oh no wait, oh no wait, he know he gon lose his right one.

90. So he think he gon lose his arm. Go 'head.

91. Oh no wait, if, if....

93. He think. Hold on wait. He think he gon lose her, right?

95. So he think he gon lose his arm.

97. And, and you say he's gon lose, he'd rather lose a hand, right?

IC -6a - iv

103. Than the whole thing, yeah, lose part of her.

104. Lose part of her, huh?

105. Yeah, 'cause he want her to still....

106. Well if he think he gon lose it he ain't thinkin' 'bout no part, he thinkin' about all o' it, see that's why you comin' back at it.

107. Awright, but he still want it, don't he?

108. You comin' back at it, you said all of it. oh no wait, you say, ah, now you say he think he's gon lose his arm, right?

109. You don't get the point.

110. Uh huh. That's all of her, right?

111. That's all him. The whole arm is his, right?

112. Yeah.

113. Okay. He think he gon lose his arm, right here. But then, you said he would rather lose his hand.

114. Yeah, than his whole arm.

115. He'd rather lose part of her than all of her.

116. He'd rather lose part of her than all of her.

- -

236. He loved her.

237. He loved her too much.

238. See, now.

239. He won't do it next time.

240. He loved her too much, that was his problem...and she found out he was lovin' her too much, so she made a fool out of him.

241. The reason people learn....

IC-6a - v

242. That's why you should never tell nobody that you love 'em very much until you get married.

243. I don't care!

244. That's right. That's right. 'Cause that's how girls is. Girls'll try to take advantage of you. You all....

245. Boys'll do that. Boys'll do that. Girls won't do that.

246. Yeah, man.

247. Girls'll try and take advantage of ya.

248. Boys'll do that.

249. I don't care.

250. A woman....

251. Ah, boys take advantage too. Boys take advantage of girls. Boys all take advantage of girls.

252. Like they say, different groups have different (?).

253. Ah, that's stupid.

254. Really...really....

255. WHAT IF WE SAY, WHAT IF WE SAY THIS.

256. Ah, y'all take advantage of us.

257. Give me a nickel, give me a dime.

(background talking)

258. (?) give me a nickel all the time.

259. CAN WE SAY THIS.

260. Yes.

261. So what?

(much excited talking and laughing)

262. Different folks has different troubles!

IC - 6a - vi

263. Shhhh.

264. CAN WE SAY, CAN WE SAY, YOU KNOW, SOME PEOPLE SAY BOYS AND SOME PEOPLE SAY GIRLS, SO WE'LL SAY....

265. What!

266. All people.

(loud, inarticulate response)

267. ALL PEOPLE TAKE ADVANTAGE...OF EACH OTHER?

268. Of each other.
269. Of each other.

270. Is that true?

271. Yeah. (Several in unison)
272. Put Don under there.

(much talking)

273. I don't know.

274. ...puttin' his hand around mike.

275. I take advantage of anybody, they'd be takin' advantage of themself, too.

276. Okay.
277. I take advantage of girls.

278. Dat's what we just said. We just said that.

279. They can't get my money, though. I know that's what they want.

(girls laugh)

280. You got it, man.

281. You said, that's what they want.

282. ALL RIGHT, ALL PEOPLE TAKE ADVANTAGE OF EACH OTHER.

IC -6a - vii

	283. (?) money.	
		284. I consider that true.
		285. Yeah, 'at's true, He just said.
286. Who you take advantage of?		
		287. I don't take advantage of nobody.
288. He take advantage of you?	(talking)	
	289. No.	290. No, he better not.
291. Why not? If he do, what would you do?		
	292. We ain't on this subject! We ain't on this subject!	
		293. Maybe you better ask if they have the opportunity.
294. Okay, uh, all right, wait. Uh, okay. If they have the opportunity, right, (name)? Okay.		
		295. Uh, I mean, how can you take advantage of somebody if there ain't nobody....
296. In other words, you think Bernadette has the opportunity to take advantage of, uh, this fellow.	297. 'Cause he gave her the opportunity.	
298. Uh, we should discuss Casanova, uh?		
		299. i mean, ain't no way you could take advantage of us.
	300. Casanova, yeah.	
	(laugh)	
	301. Casanova.	
	(laughter and talk)	302. I mean, in the position we's in, there's no way you could take advantage of us.

22. OKAY, WHAT ABOUT IT? JAN? IS THAT WHAT HIS PROBLEM WAS? DOES HE HAVE A PROBLEM?

23. Naw, he doesn't have a problem?

24. He don't have a problem. He don't have a problem.

25. He just wants it (?).

26. He just have a wish, a big wish. That's all he wants, just a big wish. He got a big wish to get out the ghetto, like Barney said.

(laughter)

27. So he blow it up.

28. He don't want to get out of it.

29. Gon get you a job and build it up.

30. Just build his home, that's right.

31. Wha'd he want to do, blow up, blow it all to pieces.

32. Home, sweet home.

33. Blow it up and build some projects.
(laugh)
(general outburst)

34. Naw, he, all (?).

35. YOU THINK HE WANTA BUILD SOME PROJECTS?

36. Naw, he wants . . . .(?) it to be clean. . . . rather than not how it looks and stuff.

37. Naw, that's what he, that's why he say he gon blow it up. Why would he blow it up if he din' care, uh, uh, how it looked?

38. He gon blow it up, tear it down. . . .

IC - 6b - i (community frame)

39. And start all over again. Keep the name Tobacco Road.

40. But he still say, "I love you because you're home."

41. Yeah, that's why he gave it the name Tobacco Road again, after he built it. Am I right?

42. Besides the point of its bein' built back up, it's still his home, right?

43. That's right.

44. IN OTHER WORDS, YOU THINK HE LIKES IT. . . .

45. He likes it . . . .

46. The way it was.

47. He wants it better but he still likes it the way it is.

48. Yeah, yeah, yeah, you, that's right.

49. He likes the name.

50. Uhhuh. He likes it so much, he's renamin' it the same name.

51. HE LIKES THE NAME, OR WHAT, WHAT ARE SOME OF THE THINGS YOU THINK HE LIKES ABOUT IT?

52. He just likes clean grass. I guess that's what he (?).

53. It's like, uh.

54. It's like growin' up with a pair of gym shoes. You know how little kids have a pair of gym shoes, and they don't want to be parted? It's like, that's his home.

55. Yeah.

56. WELL, WHAT, WHAT, WHAT COULD HE POSSIBLE LIKE ABOUT THE GHETTO?

57. Stay there.

58. He don't like it. That's it. He don't like about the ghetto.

59. He like it and he don't like it.

60. He don't like it or he wouldn't have blown it up.

61. That's his way of life. All his life, that's the way he's lived.

63. Start all over again.

64. But it's (?) same record.

62. In his imagination he say--you listen to the record good--he say he gon blow it up, tear it down, and build it all over again. And then he say, uh, it dirty and filthy, but somethin' about, uh, he'll be proud, build a town be proud to show. Keep the name Tobacco Road. Now that's self-evidence right there.

199. YOU WOULD NOT, YOU WOULD NOT GO INTO ANOTHER NEIGHBORHOOD?

200. Some neighborhoods.

201. Now, like these gangs they got, ah, like Blackstone Rangers,

202. . . .and Bosco Rangers.

203. Ranger disciples and the Bossanova Kids.

204. Yep.

205. Now you ain't one of 'em. You don't want to barch your neighborhood cause no girls in it that your enemies may be. . .

206. Yep, like.

207. 'Cause they'll start cussing and, where do you live and the next time you know you coming home with a couple busted eyes. . .

208. If you come home. . .

209. And minus some teeth or something.

210. If you come home.

211. And all thar suffering for a girl.

212. Sent there for a make.

213. No, what I could do?

214. I would go get a girl in my room.

215. Right.

216. Right.

217. Right.

218. Why can't I lend her my rule, though.

219. Right is wrong. (laugh)

220. I feel like this, like a girl don't go with you no more, boys start going over there to see her and you use weapons on 'em cause that other ain't gonna mean anything.

221. That's the way I said about it.

222. You play the slick role like the average Bossanova kid, you can't be nothing. . .

(laughter)

223. You don't want to break no necks but that don't make no difference to them, they don't pay no attention to you.

IC - 5a - i (boy-girl frame)

224. Tell him man.

225. I going now.

226. Bossanova.

227. No, it's too early.

228. No, you can turn to Bossanovas - - they all gonna have at least three girlfriends, but they stay with one.

229. But I'm exceptional, I got four.

(laughter)

230. I bet you couldn't guess who them Bossanovas is, could you?

231. No, no, who are they?

232. Mighty Bossanova (said by two boys in unison, followed by laughter. . .)

233. Sh-do-op-en-iee-

234. She's his looovvver. (said teasingly)

235. They's just like the gum ride.

236. But what I really think is you's suppose to have at least three girlfriends, you know.

237. You gotta have!

238. One to hate, one to like,

239. And one to luv. . .

240. And one to mess around with.

241. The one you like is the one you luv.

242. No you don't.

243. Another one you just take her for granted, you can take her or leave her.

244. Yeah, one to like . . .

(yelling in background)

245. One to hate, and one to get mussy . . .and one to, you know, just mess around with, ah.

246. Try to hard, man. (in background)

247. That's what I said mess around with.

248. WELL, WHAT ABOUT THE FUN WITH THE OTHER THERE? YOU HAVEN'T SAID ANYTHING.

249. He hadn't got a girlfriend.

(laughter)

250. He's the quiet stage.

251. He's shy.

252. He's the shy guy.

253. And too they call themself a "pimp" when they have two women and they be one they really love, and the other they just be pimping on when they, when, you know, they get the chump chain and everything.

254. Yeah, like a nickel or a dime.

255. And they suppose to be getting half our paycheck or something.

256. I've got one or two, I don't know.

257. What he say?

258. Today is payday.

259. Today is payday.

260. Today is payday.

322. Would you try to come back and fix up the area, you know?

323. Nope. (mumble) this don't belong to me, you know. You know what I mean.

324. WHAT BELONGS TO YOU?

325. Not a thing.

(laughter)

326. WHAT'S SO FUNNY ABOUT THAT?

327. Not a thing.

328. Nothing.

329. Oh, nothing.

330. You wrong.
331. You wrong.
332. You wrong.

333. He means, uh, land. I have a few acres back at home.

334. But they really aren't mine, you see, they are my girl's.

335. (aside) Take my shoes off.

336. Wait a minute.

337. He look mad.

(mumbling all around)

338. ...a considerable sum... not too much (?) I bet he be expected...

339. I feel obligated to the life I'm living.

340. All this is true.

341. What?

IC - 4b - i (community frame)

342. You know me, you know, you don't read me, do you?

343. Huh-uh.
344. Huh-uh.
345. Huh-uh. Go outside and kill yourself.

346. I'm in the same way you are.

347. I mean, don't you like to live? Now he fix up the things that he own. He don't own his life, but he'll take care of it.

348. That's right.

349. This is something for somebody else.

350. That is what he take care of, not what he own.

351. No, now, like your own self.

352. Oh.

353. Everything is borrowed, you understand?

(everyone talking at once around the table)

354. You are, then explain, explain yourself.

355. You can talk about anything you want, but explain yourself.

356. Well now, this stuff you call money, you call it yours, don't you? Money, U. S. currency, right? You call it, "This is my money, don't nobody get it."

357. But you borrowed this from somebody and you expect to give it back to them, right?

358. You are gonna give it back to them if you get something in return, right?

359. That's not the same as borrowing, except....

360. But it's not really yours.

361. It belong to the United States. And what you get with this is not yours, it belongs to the United States money, right?

362. Well, I mean you work for that.

363. Well, you call it yours.

364. And it's yours.

365. You work for it, you get it.

366. But I don't think, if your life isn't yours, isn't anything yours.

367. YEAH, WHAT DO YOU REALLY, REALLY OWN? WHAT'S REALLY YOURS? MAYBE YOUR LIFE IS THE ONLY THING YOU GOT.

368. Only thing you gonna have, you know....

369. Why do you ask that question now, what do you really, really own?

370. WELL, BECAUSE ED SAID HE DIDN'T OWN ANYTHING DOWN ON THE SOUTH SIDE, IN THIS AREA.

371. No, that's not true.

372. But....

373. But I mean your possessions is yours.

374. You call it your own.

375. You don't own nothing.

376. Like down here, you don't own anything, anything.

if you live on Tobacco Road, naturally you haven't got the money to build it up. Like if he had the money, it wouldn't be filthy. Or if his old man had the money, it wouldn't be filthy. 'Cause if he had the money to get it fixed up hisself, or pay somebody else to fix it up. That's how come he went to the city. To make money and come back and fix it up. But stayin' on Tobacco Road he didn't have any opportunity, because he was a farmer.

497. But uh, he says he's talkin' about if he (?) a different place.

498. Yes, he could of, but this is the way, when I listened to the record, this is the way I received it. This is the only way I could speak of it, because this is the way I could see it.

(girls giggling)

499. An' naturally as birthright you're gonna love your home no matter how it is. South Side isn't all that much. I don't want to live on the West Side, I want to live on the North Side. It's better. It's not because it's any moderner or any less people or it's any cleaner, because it isn't, really. But uh, the people, you know in general, I just like it better.

500. WHAT'S THE NORTH SIDE? WHERE 'BOUTS?

IC - 4b - iv

501. The North Side of Chicago.	502. The Loop.	503. What's different about the people on the North Side and the people on the South Side?
504. What's different? They're more my way.	(comment in background and laughter)	
505. Yeah. See, they like to do more things, the way, you know....	(disagreement from background)	506. I know some people on the South Side just like people on the North Side.
507. See, the things they do in certain sections are different.		508. But just think, if somebody moved from the place that uh, they act like around here, they act the same way they did on the North Side, then they move over here. They probably like it, want to stay there, because it's just like it was over on the North Side.
509. Uh, these things have to be adjusted to, you know. It takes time. Right?		510. It takes a certain quality of, uh....
	511. Certain people.	
512. But I was speakin' of a place, you know, a part of the North Side I've seen. And I just like it better because I like the people more. I want to stay if I can.		
		513. What's different about the people?
		514. You haven't been in all the places on the South Side.
515. Well, I guess it's because I'm speakin' of the South Side in general that I know of. I can't speak		

of anything I don't know about, right? Uh, what's different? I guess it's because there's new faces, and I've been around these old ones for a while.

516. You go somewhere on South Side and meet new faces.

517. Yeah, all this is true. But uh, the places I've been on the South Side I don't like as well as the places I've been on the North Side. Now like, uh, it's different places on the North Side, not just one place in general. I've been in different places of course. Just like it better, that's all. You have to like one place better than you do another, right? Just the things we do, you know.

518. Um.

519. DOES THE NORTH, NORTH SIDE, OR YOU LIKE THE SOUTH SIDE.

520. They're all the same to me.

521. When was the last time you been on the North Side now?

522. Wh'ya say?

523. When was the last time you been on the North Side?

524. Last...I ha'n't never really been on the North Side, you know, playin' or nothin'.

525. Well, this is what I'm talkin' about. You know, uh, when I'd never been out of Chicago and just stay in one specific place, when I was younger, I think the South Side the best place I'd been on. Tha's (?) somebody and then, I didn't know where I was then.

123. WHA, WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY A SLUM?

124. Well, when we first got over here there was a lot of you know there was a lot of white over here. Then they started movin' out. 'N' then, 'n' then evbody started comin' in. They just started (?)

125. That's right.

126. Then they just, then they just, 'n' all . . .

127. That's right.

128. Used to, they used to come by and they used to sweep the streets all the time.

129. Now they won't even do that any more.

130. Won't even come empty the garbage cans.

131. Empty the garbage regularly. They might come twice a week to empty the garbage in here before. And then after that, after evbody moved out, and more colored came in, less they started doin'. They don't even sweep the street. They swept the street for a little while after they got on, the, the, the go, the go, the go, uh, got on 'em I guess. 'N' then, after a while they slacked off fum that. 'N' then, 'n' after they slacked off from that they stopped emptyin' the garbage 'n' that's where all the rats is all come from. 'N' then passed a bill, cain't kill rats.

132. What about can't kill rats?

133. They passed a bill that can't you can't.

134. Them rats was here when we got here.

(community frame)
IC - 3b - i

135. Man I blow, I blow a rat up.

136. What you talkin' about?

(two indistinct comments)

137. Yeah, I'll kill 'em then.

138. I never heard of no . . .

139. You can't kill a rat.

140. You not supposed to.

141. Well, I doin' it.

142. They passed a bill, they tried to get a rat bill passed but you know they come 'n' in'n notice. You know, get all the rats 'n' everything. They voted no. Now why I don't know. They said no. Most of these voters, voters don't even live around here, they don't know how it is now.

143. That's strange too.

144. Yeah. They all sittin' up there in the House of Representatives and they're . . .

145. There's that Mr. Colby, he (?), he live on this block. And then still, he don't say nothin'.

146. The precink captain, the man don't even like us.

147. He come here puttin' Mayor Daley signs up on the window without even askin'.

148. On what window?

149. He put 'em on our window. We put 'em on our tree and he tore it down and he said we'll put it (?)

150. Hey man!

(laugh)

IC - 3b - ii

151. . . .cause we was gon frame his car, put Dick Gregory signs on the windshields.		
		152. Gon put Dick Gregory signs all over his car.
	(laugh)	
153. But, you know a lot of people didn't want to vote for the Democratic party cause there was, not Democratic, but Republic party 's take folks from the Democratic party. They say Dick Gregory didn't have a chance anyway. They take votes from the Democratic party anyway.		
		154. He knowed he didn't have a chance.
		155. He knew he had a chance just to get . . .
156. His rallies were real good, all of 'em.		
		157. Yeah, they was real good, but you payin' people to vote and all this mess, can't win.
	158. (name) got five dollars off that.	
		159. Uh huh--paid him to vote.
160. He did get a percentage of the vote though.		
		161. Yeah he got a percentage of it.
	162. Yeah.	
162. WHO'D SHE GET FIVE DOLLARS FROM?		
		163. Some man down (?) gave it to her you know to vote, 'n' . . .
	164. She's already a Democrat, but since she did they just gave her five dollars.	
165. Well (name), well, he's preachin' at the church one Sunday and he was talkin' about how they was corruptin' the vote. They threw him out. Because he he was in there, he was in there		
	166. Yeah.	

watching them sure din't want to change votes here. 'N' they threw him out.

167. He told us about that at BYF meetin' too.

168. Thew him out.

169. Uh huh.

170. You know, what's this dude (?)

171. I mean thewed him out. He din't put him out, I mean thewed him out.

(laugh)

172. What was this man's name that was runnin' last year?

173. Curtis sompin'. Curtis Foster, wasn't it?

174. Yeah, that's him. Well he was runnin', uh everbody from down there in town was watchin' everbody get bribed. Watchin' everbody get bribed down there.

175. WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY EVERYBODY?

176. Everybody comin' in just for the majority of us here like 'at. Dey were comin' to vote for Curtis Foster. Get bribed. They ay, paid a man off or sompin' like 'at. Or a woman, lady off. And she'd go vote for this other man.

177. WELL, WHOSE FAULT IS IT? IS IT THE PERSON WHO GIVES THEM THE FIVE DOLLARS OR IS IT THE PERSON WHO TAKES THE FIVE DOLLARS?

178. It's, it's, it's . . . .

179. It's the person that takes.

180. . . . takes the five dollars. 'N' they don't have to do it.

181. Dey don't have (?).

182. That five dollars is still for what they wanted.

183. That's what I just said, because once they get behind the curtains, ey, ey, ain't nobody supposed, ain't nobody supposed to be back there with them.

184. Nah, they ain't supposed to be back there.

185. They ain't s'posed to but they (?).

186. . . .neither but they do.

- -

230. I know one, I know one who robs dudes, man. Can't get their pay, dude knows they get their pay, and he catch them right out there in the middle of the street, strike 'em down, whap.

(laughter and comments)

231. (?) could only be around here sometime. He'll catch little bad boys in school, he get 'em, he'll let 'em rob a cat, and he take them for what they can get. And he won't take 'em in or nothin'.

232. He care. I know he care.

233. BUT THEY DON'T FAIL?

234. Yeah. They got a, they got a boy in front of my school there this fall. They got a splib over there at Marshall that, that mess around with little girls, and if you don't, and if the girls don't do what he says, man, he get 'em kicked out the school.

235. But they goin' (?).

236. Who is that?

IC - 3b - v

237. What? Arthur Gibbs this man's name.

238. Arthur.

239. No, it's not Fox. Fox is all right cat. But it's one of them plainclothesmen. It's one of them plainclothesmen.

240. I knew they had some plainclothesmen in fronta our school, you see these, uh, they look like older boys. They have a nice car, be dressed like all the older boys. They be dressed really nice. Hippies or somethin', they're police.

241. You remember that girl, used to live next door to uh, Doris?

242. Doris?

243. Dat ole, dat ole . . . dat ole hag used to live next door to Doris.

244. Doris who?

245. Oh, the, the (?) little short fat girl.

246. Uh huh.
247. Yeah.
248. Oh yeah.

(laugh)

249. Well, she had a little sister who looked better than she did but she still had a little squinched eye there. She went on, she went to Marshall school for the summer. He was there, he's still there now.

250. Is he, kinda short and good hair?

251. I dunno, I dun, I don't know a name, but I can show him to you. But he had her put out of school on account of that, and when her mother went up there, the dude told her to apologize . . . he say, he told her to apologize. The mother went up there, and the police said, "If you apologize, 'n' say, say 'bout I forgot I went," then he'd let it go. And she wouldn't apologize. She spit in his face, kicked him.

252. Oh yeah, they can do that.	They put her out of school. Now she can't go back to school. Period. 'Less she leave town, 'n' go to some other school. She can't go to no school in Chicago.
253. . . .education.	

IC - 3b - vii

29. WELL, I THINK WE TALKED ABOUT HOW DIFFICULT IT IS TO CLIMB OUT OF THESE KINDS OF SITUATIONS. AND I'M SURE FOR EVERYONE WHO DOES, LIKE LOU RAWLS, THERE ARE HUNDREDS WHO DON'T. HE HAPPENS TO HAVE SOME VERY SPECIAL TALENTS. . . YOU, DO YOU THINK, UH, HIS RECORDS HAVE A LOT OF MEANING FOR, SAY, PEOPLE IN YOUR GROUP?

30. Oh yeah.

31. Uh huh.

(leader's question obscure but a continuation of previous one)

32. Well, just like you say, his records, they mean something. Most of his records are tellin' how he was down, and now, down in the slums and everything, and now he's gone up. And he's tellin' how it took him a long time and he had to go through a lot in order to get where he is now. And most people, they like his records, maybe it's not because uh, they're so much like him, but just to hear of his experiences, you know, something like that. 'N' the way he expresses hisself.

33. I don't think he really lived like that. He might have had to you know, live on a, it wasn't what you call the nicest neighborhood in the world, but I don't think, you know, he prob'ly, he prob'ly 's thinkin' about how, well, you know, other people's problem. You know, somebody he might of known might of lived like that, and he just, you know. . .

34. Yeah, that's. . .

35. . . .might of felt it in a way he's singing about it.

36. Yeah, that's the same way I felt about it. I was, I was gon say it later, but Deborah beat me to it. I was thinkin' that, uh, maybe this wasn't the way that he lived himself, but maybe this is the way that he might had friends. Like she said, he din live in the best neighborhood, but I'm sure it wasn't like this, like this record. 'N' I feel that it's just somethin' that he feels it he has his ability to make records like this, tellin' of people who might of lived that way, like so and so's grandparents or great-great-grandparents who might have lived that way, and he was just lettin' us know how it really feels to live in a nice neighborhood, and don't have to. . .you know.

37. Yeah, but I felt myself that I don't think that he lived that way himself. But he might have had friends, or he might, he might not of even had friends.

38. DO YOU KNOW ANY PEOPLE THAT LIVE IN THE WAY THAT HE DESCRIBES?

39. Lot of people live like that. Um. Really bad.

40. Yeah.

41. And they're nice too, prob'ly. But you know, in some of these neighborhoods, well, people, they don't really have to live like that, but people just don't care any more. You know, whatever is nice, people come in nice neighborhoods, and I do have to admit the majority are Negroes, and when they come in, you know, so many people move out. And they tear up, just tear up anything, cause in front of our house, we, it's, it's, the neighborhood is all right. . .

(community frame)
IC - 1b - i

---

62. WHAT, UH, HOW DO YOU THINK THIS COULD CHANGE ABOUT PEOPLE CARING. AND I DON'T THINK LET ME SAY, THIS ISN'T JUST NEGRO PEOPLE, THIS IS. . .

63. I know, it's. . .

64. YOU KNOW. ALL. I THINK THIS EXISTS. . .

65. With everybody.

66. WITH EVERYBODY. AND I THINK IT IS A PROBLEM OF OUR SOCIETY TODAY. BUT HOW, HOW WOULD YOU GO ABOUT CHANGING?

67. A lotta people wanta not change. A lotta people won't change.

68. But see, a lotta people, when they just like, just like, long time ago when they were young or somethin' like that, well they, learned things and they, somethin's happened well they wanna stick to what they, you know, they don't care and they never will care. And then again, it's hard for them to come off o' how they lived all their life, not carin', and then suddenly start to care about things. Then that would make it harder. But I think it would be better if everybody not only tried to improve theirselves but you know, to help other people, to you know, do more than his part.

69. UH HUH.

70. It's like, pickin' up the paper off the street, that wouldn't be hard if everbody picked up their part of the paper off the street. Well then all that paper 'n' everthing wouldn't be out there, it wouldn't be hard for everbody, even if it wasn't their paper, you know, to pick it up.

71. BUT, BUT I THINK THE PROBLEM IS, HOW DO YOU GET PEOPLE TO CARE?

72. I don't know. Yesterday in my neighborhood, uh, white people. They came and uh, you know, young white people, came 'long and uh they had just about all the kids, well, they weren't too small, but they were, you know, in between teenagers and smaller kids and then they were out there, they had brooms and things and they were cleanin' up the street. It was about. . .

73. THESE WERE WHITE KIDS?

74. Um hum, some of 'em was, about six of 'em out there, and the rest of 'em were colored kids. 'N' they had, this lady had on a sign, "Keep (street name) clean" and everbody, all the kids out there all down the street were cleanin' up. And that was about 3:30 then, and about a hour later the street looked just like it did before they cleaned it up.

75. Well a lot of people they feel this way and they say, like if they see some paper down here or paper down there they say, "Why should I pick it up when I don't even pick it up in front of my own house." You know. . .

76. Really (laugh).

77. . . .and, "Why should I go on and do this when I don't even do this all to my house." You know. And they feel this way, and it's really stupid, because a little paper pickin' up won't kill anybody. If it is, I'm (?) because a little bendin' down and pickin' up the paper I'm sure won't hurt nobody, I mean, a little one year old child is able to do that, just lean down there and pick up the paper.

15. NOW IN THE, THE RECORD SAID THAT HE GREW UP IN A FILTHY, DIRTY PLACE, HE'D LIKE TO BLOW IT UP AND START ALL OVER AGAIN. WOULD YOU LIKE TO DO ANYTHING TO CICERO TO CHANGE, OR YOU JUST WANT TO GET OUT?		
		(reply indistinguishable)
	(laugh)	16. Make it Morton West High School.
17. CHANGE THE HIGH SCHOOL?		18. Yes, it's a beautiful building, man.
	(laugh)	
19. DIRTY, FILTHY?		20. No, not really.
		21. It's just....
		22. Kinda outdated.
		23. It's just that it, the system.
	23a. It's the system, the system.	
24. It's also the cool people who want to put out all so much for their, for their children. An, they're willin' to gove their hearts out for the kids. Yeah, referendum take 'em four years to pass whatever it was.		
		25. Only good thing we got is that annex, but then I can't even use it, it's going to be my last year before I'll be able to do anything with it.
26. Have a seventy thousand dollar five-year plan.	(laugh)	27. Yeah, and their credit's good.

(community frame)

- -

S-Ib - i

138. I think "active non-participation" was a real good word.

(pause)

139. WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

(pause)

140. WELL WHAT DO YOU MEAN "WAS A GOOD WORD"? YOU HEARD THAT TODAY, OR....?

141. Um, uh, about a week ago. We had a speaker in the class, and us, rather than accepting the idea that you have to do something in order to right a situation, well you, to do nothing, would right a situation, better than doing something opposite it.

142. CAN YOU GIVE ME AN EXAMPLE?

143. Oh, um, for example, a white house. You know like a white house is painted black. Well, like let it go and then you'll have a nice ugly brown house.

144. That's a stupid....

(girls laugh)

145. The rain might make it brown. It might crack and you'll see the other color, and the other color behind the white is black.

146. Right.

147. Exactly.

148. No....(heavy breathing during last two speeches breaks into laugh)

149. YOU SAY HE SAID IF YOU DO NOTHING SOMETIMES...IF YOU KNOW YOU ARE DOING NOTHING AND YOU DO NOTHING ON PURPOSE...?

150. ...(?) talkin' 'bout.

151. That's what he meant by the act of non-participation.

152. YEAH, LIKE YOU CHOSE TO DO NOTHING.

153. Yeah. He said that, if you know, you can't control...then don't, don't do it.

154. Then why try.

155. He meant like the war in Vietnam, you know, where he didn't agree with it, but yet he didn't know what he should do, to help it. So he's...

156. 'Stead of goin' over there.

157. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT?

158. 'Bout what?

159. DO YOU FEEL A PERSON SHOULD JUST LET A SITUATION GO ALONG, IF YOU FEEL YOU CAN'T CONTROL IT?

10. Um hum.

12. Um hum.

13. 'N' not even try to keep it up. 'N' that, then they're jealous, 'n' that's stupid.

18. Like I saw . . .

21. I, I saw a movie in school 'n' it was all coloreds and it was all the slum area. And they don't do anything about their houses, they just. They don't do anything at all about it. And then uh, all they do, they work all their lives to get a better car than all the other coloreds have.

23. And they, they, some of 'em even work all their lives to pay off the car and they even sleep in it some of them.

8. Yeah, they throw, they throw, they throw their trash in the corridors and stuff like that. Like these new, like in these new, those new uh, developments, they throw their own trash into uh, in the hallways.

14. YEAH.
15. YEAH.

17. Okay.

20. NOW, UH . . . YEAH.

7. It's like the Negroes they, they sit and they complain of how, how si--, how ugly their houses are, how dirty they are. But they don't, they don't go, and they don't try to clean it up or anything, they just leave, they leave the garbage.

9. Yeah.

11. Yeah, right in the . . .

16. It's really pretty bad.

19. But whites do that, too. Everybody does that. It's just more hep--, it's just happen to be more colored, poor people.

22. You know what they do . . .

24. They buy a brand new Cadillac and pay for the fi--, and they pay the the the down payment, and then they wait for three months until the, and

(community frame)
S - 2b - i

41. THAT A PERSON WHO HASN'T GOT ANYTHING IS GOING TO THINK, "WELL AT LEAST IN MY CAR THEY DON'T KNOW ME, AND WITH THAT I AM SOMEBODY." NOW IN THEIR OWN MIND, IT SEEMS THAT HAVING A CAR THAT LOOKS LIKE SOMETHING MEANS BEING SOMEBODY. NOW IT'S INTERESTING IF YOU CAN GET AWAY FROM IT FAR ENOUGH AS, AS YOU ARE LOOKING AT IT NOW, HOW UNIMPORTANT IT SEEMS TO HAVE THAT CAR AND THAT SHOWING OFF, "I'M SOMEBODY" WHEN IT SEEMS, WHAT IS IT THAT THAT IS ACTUALLY, IS THAT CAR GOING TO MAKE THEM SOMEBODY?

42. No, it won't. No.

43. IT MAY DECEIVE SOMEBODY FOR A WHILE.

44. People, people'll think, "Well, well there goes a good guy, he worked for his car," 'n' everything, but really he didn't. You know. He's still payin' off his car, sleepin' in his car, even.

45. Ummm.

46. ALL RIGHT, SO WHAT'S THE PROBLEM? HE'S STARTING WHERE? WHERE IS HE ACTUALLY STARTING?

47. Starting at the bottom and trying to get to the top fast enough, but he's not making it. He should start in and work up, but uh, he, he thinks everybody's gonna look at him and think, "Hey, you're rich," you know and "You're, you're, you're with us." But, he's not, well that's, that's not how it is for him, really.

48. Uh huh.

49. He ain't no better.

50. UH HUH.

51. He thinks he's gonna impress someone.

52. He's making it harder for himself.

then they don't pay any more payments, for about three months, until the company calls it back from them. That's what they do. And then, and sometimes, uh, four or five families, they chip in to buy what, one Cadillac and they share it once in a, one day a week.

25. Um hum.

26. Um hum.

27. WHY DO YOU SUPPOSE, WHY DO YOU SUPPOSE IT'S SO IMPORTANT FOR THEM TO HAVE, BUY A CAR THAT, TO SHOW OFF WITH? WHY A CAR?

28. I don't know . . . they just like . . .

29. That's . . . to show . . .

30. They wanna be (?) everybody else.

31. So how else can they show off?

32. So they can show that they're just as good.

33. Yeah.

34. And they, they can get just as good stuff. But, but no, but a N--, but if you see him drivin' down the street in a brand new Cadillac, you don't know what kind of a house he lives in neither. He might, he might, he might live in a good house, and he might live in a bad house, but you never know. And, the impression he thinks that he's giving you is that you think that he lives in a very good house and that he has more than you have.

35. I know a guy, I, I know it. I . . .

(laugh)

36. I know exactly what you mean.

37. ALL RIGHT, GIVE HER A CHANCE TO FINISH. YEAH. UH HUH.

38. You should see, you should look into some of these cars, well all sorts or cra--, junk all over the floor and everything else.

39. ALL RIGHT. BUT COULD IT BE THAT JOYCE HAS AN IMPORTANT POINT THERE THOUGH.

40. Yeah. That's why.

53. UH, HOW IS HE MAKING IT HARDER FOR HIMSELF?

54. Because he, he's uh, tryin' to think that you know, he's got this real good, but um, it's just, it's just gonna make it harder for himself because then he's gotta go back to his uh, his uh, home, which isn't really a home at all, and he's gotta, he's got it just disillusions him, and then he, he should work up to it, then he knows he's earned it and now he's got som'n to come back to.

S - 2b - iv

39. You can see how it can relate to, like in the riots this summer. Uh, this feeling of utter loathe towards where they, the way these people lived. All this could build up and they just have to, they wanta unleash it, unleash their power, what they feel, to get something. Maybe not better, but just to have something different.

40. SO THEREFORE, THIS UH, THIS PERSON COULD EASILY, THIS COULD EASILY BE THE SETTING FOR YOU KNOW, THIS MIGHT BE WHAT, ONE OF THE PRECEPITATING FACTORS CAUSING RIOTS OR YOU KNOW, NEGRO REVOLUTION. THIS DISCONTENT.

41. Um hum.

41a. I imagine when the, well, like the Negroes in the inner city group. I imagine their interpretation is, you can take it as though this is what they want to do. They want to get out of this place, blow everything up. Rather than, like we're discussing it in the face values, actually what it says, and what, they can interpret this, you know, sort of theme song. This is what they want to do.

42. Well why did they wanta, what did they wanta blow it up for though? Because of, it's their background or because they wanta get what we have? They wanta live in houses like we do, like so, they can blow everybody else's mind. To show off. I mean, you think if they can put a beautiful new house in the middle of a slum? Is that, you know, are they trying to get to the white people through it or?

43. Um hum.

44. If I could answer that, I think a lot of the problems . . .

45. It would be over.

46. Right. It would be solved.

(pause)

(community frame)

47. That's the big question.

48. Who knows why they. I don't.

49. DO YOU THINK THIS IS A VALID POINT FOR REVOLUTION OR A RIOT?

(pause)

50. I think it's just the classes of people.

51. Go back to the Marx theory of the haves and have-nots.

52. Yeah, I think the very first statement of the Communist Manifesto probably can be applied to the history of all. . .people. It's, it's the class struggle. The history of man is the history (?)

53. Well it's, well I think this is actually gone on, the Negro problem now has gone into more of a, well it's both a class struggle now and a, a racial, if you can make that, differentiate between the two.

54. Yeah.

55. Um hum.

S - 4b - ii

23. Call a few bars.

(laugh)

24. I CAN'T DO THAT EITHER. SO UH, YEAH, I SEE YOUR POINT, THE DOUBLE MEANING, MORE OR LESS. SOME OF THE WORDS ARE SLURRED, SO THAT YOU REALLY CAN'T TELL. BE CREATIVE WITH IT.

25. Well I wish someone would correct me if I'm wrong, but I think that what the person says in this record is gettin' at is, is the need, love is the need.

26. Yeah, and that someone's, even what his friends are trying to get her away, and, even if they try that she should stay close to him.

27. I think one of the biggest things is I think is, first idea in actually singing this song is to appeal to someone's emotions and, us, even the way he sings it and screams it....

28. Um hum.
(murmured agreement in background)

29. The animal instinct you mean?

30. Yeah. Uh, no. It just brings out your emotions. You wanta....

31. Well, it is, to a point.

32. He sings with soul.

33. He seems to be insecure, I think. Grasping. Clutching after a person, you know.

34. Um hum.

(boy-girl frame)
S - 5a - i

35. Yeah.

36. It's, it's such a high pitch that he seems, it's almost like he's screaming at her.

37. UM HUM.

38. Oh no.

39. HE'S, THIS COULD BE TAKING PLACE IN A MENTAL HOSPITAL.

(laugh)

---

85. WHAT, UH, WHAT KIND OF A CHICK DO YOU THINK THIS BERNADETTE WOULD BE?

86. Well, she could care less really.

(some background responses)

87. That's what happens.

88. Yeah, she sees that, uh....

89. She strikes me as very fickle, kind of a--she probably has many boys.

90. Yeah, like uh, she don't wanta be tied down with one.

91. It sounds as though she might have had feelings for him at one time, and maybe is kind of, going away from him now. He's trying to get her....

92. He just keeps saying it might work.

93. It's a very frantic feeling for a guy that's been going with a girl for so long and then they have to try, and then all of a sudden somethin' happened and she isn't there like before.

S - 5a - ii

94. UN HUM.

95. And this is what he's experiencing. This isn't necessarily Bernadette's fault, it's just the way it happened.

96. YEAH.

97. And if he really wanted her back, that's not the way to get a girl back. That'll turn a girl the opposite way.

98. YEAH, YOU SORTA YOU KNOW, PLAY JOE COOL AND YOU KNOW, I COULDN'T CARE LESS.

(laugh)

99. I couldn't care less.

100. AND YOU DATE HER BEST FRIEND OR SOMETHING, AND UH, YOU KNOW, BE SEEN TOGETHER.

101. Doesn't work sometimes.

102. I KNOW IT DOESN'T.

103. It's not working right now. I'm here to tell you.

104. BACKFIRES RIGHT IN YOUR FACE.

105. It is.

(laugh)

75. Well I don't know, I was tryin' to figure that out. They call the wind the hawk.

76. Yeah.

77. Big city, maybe...could be. It's like a monster.

78. Well, I, either that or the, he's calling the wind the hawk.

79. I think he's callin' the general environment the hawk. Some'in that's gonna come down and jump on him, 'n' keeps givin' him a bad time.

80. That's true.

81. Well a hawk's s'posed to be pretty mighty.

82. Can even see by the, the thing that impressed me by the whole record was its monotony. You know, it's just so monotonous. It's the same, like a (?) over and over.

83. Um hum.

84. First of all, he used a symbol, a dead end street. What do you usually think of when you think of a dead end street?

85. Um Hum.

86. You can't get out.

87. Well you can get out, goin' one way.

88. Well there's just one way.

89. One way.

90. Yeah.

91. I know, but usually you think of a dead end street, the way it's (?) or something.

92. As a failure, some kind of failure.

(community frame)
S - 5c - i

93. Well, 'at, 'n' uh....

94. It's dark, 'n' kinda ...cruddy.

95. UM HUM.

96. Lousy neighborhood.

97. Well....

98. Yeah.

99. Lot...but, I don't know if...

100. There's nothin' there, you c--, you go in and there's nothin' there, you gotta go back out again.

101. You could look at life like that too, because life, seems like, we were talkin' last night 'bout three or somethin' like that, 'bout how rotten, how rotten everything is, you know, Percy said, "Well, I hated school. Joined the army, I hate the army. What am I gonna hate next?" Just get sick of livin'.

102. UM HUM.

(laugh)

103. Um hum.

104. Your job.

105. Yeah, that'll be, that's what it'll be.

106. MOST PEOPLE ARE THAT WAY. THEY HATE WHAT THEY'RE DOING.

107. Yeah, um hum.

---

213. There's a, there is a driving motivation within, within these lower class areas if you want to call it that, for the kids to get out and get a better education. I found this, the two years that I tutored for the YMCA and what was later absorbed into the

S - 5c - ii

anti-poverty project. Uh, with these grade school kids, uh, some of these kids, there was such a driving motivation at home that they, they had to be there, and they had to be there every, every week.

(girl comments)

214. From their home this is?

215. From their home. And then uh, we had trouble with others that just didn't uh, care at all. Uh, I had one, one girl for a couple of weeks that there were thirteen kids in the family and the only reason she came was that she had to get out of the house, 'cause her mother and the rest of the kids runnin' around the house so much. An' then, then you had uh, so many other kids that, they were, they were really there in earnest, they were there to learn, they were there to get their problems solved.

216. Yeah but you had it made. Do you think you had a, a good cut of the average neighborhood? You just had like maybe thirty schools, or something, and you're having, well I'll give you a hundred kids out of thirty schools. That isn't a very good cut. You're bound to have a small percentage that do have some kind of ambition, or some kind of, of home life which uh, forces them to have this ambition.

217. No.

218. We had over two hundred and thirty kids...

219. Out of a possible how many?

220. ...out of four schools only. For this, for this area.

221. Well that is pretty good.

222. Pretty good.

S - 5c - iii

223. And uh, we were really amazed that so many kids had had this ambition, and then there were a few that didn't. And these were, these were all grades, 'cause I tutored from first through eighth grade.

224. Well this motivation must come from someplace if it comes from the home, well then the parents must either be under a program, I know they've got programs, the education programs for the adults, they must either come under this program ... or ...

225. Because these, these people....

226. Yeah, my mother went down there for a year and a half and tutored Tuesdays and Thursdays. At the same place. She tutored....

227. Where was this at?

228. Uh, Englewood YMCA. Sixty, Sixty-seventh and... some'in. And uh, Mom went down there Tuesdays and Thursdays and tutored uh, two people on ADC, in reading and, and math 'cause they, 'cause they both realized that they had to get out eventually and support their families by themself.

229. Well Dave do you think the motivation from the kids came from their parents because they were being educated by these programs, or just because there was a, a feeling in the parents that they wanted their children to be better than they were?

230. I think, I think the parents really wanted to see their kids improve over them.

231. Um hum.

232. Because....

233. This motivation from the parents then, must have come from someplace.

234. Yeah, well this is, this is what we tried to discuss in a group something like this. We got down there with a bunch of, uh, us tutors, you want to call it that, and we just talked for an hour or so and tried to explain to the new people coming in and tried to explain to ourselves, and find out where this driving motivation was coming from, because it was so present and so outstanding. We were really amazed. Here I went down there fear and tremblin', here I was going to get a, get some person in fifth, sixth grade where two and two is six. And we came down there and, um, I expected somebody to just sit there and not want to work all night long, and I, I actually had to take the books away from them.

235. Um hum. Well then, from hearing that I, I think there's been a change in the, or there must be a change coming about in the social structures in these low income families if there is this much interest now.

236. I think there is. I think there's definitely a, a change coming around, and I think if you wanta get into the civil rights angle, I think this summer you're gonna see a great change in Chicago, and they're just going to tell a lot of these outside civil rights leaders, whether it be Dr. King, or whoever, it might be, I don't know, they're gonna tell 'em to go home. Because they're improving by themselves on their own, and though Dr. King has done, done a lot throughout the nation, I think a lot of 'em feel that he is really not needed up here in Chicago.

1. You know, last week when we li--, we listened to Bernadette, I think uh, that guy wasn't as, as uh, uh, as desperate as she is, she seems, the way she sounded. I could, I can, just the way uh, the part where, think they harmonize...

2. Where she starts talking, she sounds as though, "huhhh," you know.

3. Yeah. (speaker continues in background)

4. And she's saying how, uh, there's no one better than me for you, you know, you may, you'll never meet another girl as good as me. Well, I don't think that the guy who was talking about Bernadette said the same thing about himself, you know, there's no one better for you than me, he was just needing her.

5. I, I got almost the opposite impression, I thought the, the guy in the first record was, uh, really desperate to try to keep her and...

6. Don't you think she was, this, this one is more desperate than him?

7. No, I....

8. As, as "Record A" was?

(giggle)

9. I don't, I don't think your uh, it wasn't matter of being desperate to me, it's just a matter of justifying it to herself, she wasn't right on the brink of saying, "Well, so long, nice knowing you," but uh, she sounded uh, she's just trying to justify it in her own mind, she wasn't really on the verge of doing something drastic. Where in the first record it sounded like, uh, was real desperate situation, uh, at hand, immediately.

(boy-girl frame)
S - 5d - i

10. Well, I, I seem to think that the girl in this record was a little bit more....

11. Sincere?

12. Yeah...I mean, she's a little bit more grown up, even though....

13. Yeah, that's what I'm tryin' to say.

14. Yeah.

---

80. DO YOU THINK A FELLA CAN BREAK DOWN A GIRL'S MORAL STANDARDS?

81. Yes.

82. Yes.

83. What?

84. I don't.

85. Time.

86. No, not, not unless she, she didn't really have them.

87. No, I think it can, if the girl thinks she's in love, with him. It can.

88. I think it can too.

89. What are morals? Say, say...

90. Her morals are a girl's....

91. All right, but what are, what are her, how can she establish morals and, and break 'em herself? Morals for yourself are the hardest things to break, for anybody. I mean you live by

standards, but all right then...
but it's her own fault. I don't
think any guy could do it.

92. I know, that's what I said. If she broke 'em, well, no wonder she feels so badly.

93. Oh, I think so.

94. I think he'd have to weaken her self.

95. Well, it was a mutual thing, you know.

96. It's a little bit of both.

97. Yeah.

98. I mean, if they're in love, he's gonna feel the same way and she's gonna feel that she should give everything to her, and course the girl, well as everyone says should set the standards. And if her, her standards were broken by herself, and by the pressures from being with him, and the pressures from him himself, then she's gonna feel bad about it, and try to say, "Well, you've got me now, you've done this, and we've had this relationship, and I'm yours and that's it."

- -

112. I thin', I think when two people have any kind of relationship over a number of years, and well, the, I would say at least a year, that this premarital sex comes whether you like it or not. I mean, you just can't take a girl home and drop her off and kiss her goodnight and say, "So long," you know, "See you tomorrow." It's it's impossible. No matter how strong you are.

OE 6000 (REV. 9-66)

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

ERIC REPORT RESUME

(TOP)

ERIC ACCESSION NO.

CLEARINGHOUSE ACCESSION NUMBER

RESUME DATE	P.A.	T.A.
01 15 68		

IS DOCUMENT COPYRIGHTED? YES ☐ NO ☐
ERIC REPRODUCTION RELEASE? YES ☐ NO ☐

TITLE
Sounds of Society: A Demonstration Program and Small Group Inquiry

PERSONAL AUTHOR(S)
Chandler, B. J. Erickson, Frederick D.

INSTITUTION (SOURCE)
Northwestern U. Evanston, Ill. School of Education

SOURCE CODE

REPORT/SERIES NO.

OTHER SOURCE

SOURCE CODE

OTHER REPORT NO.

OTHER SOURCE

SOURCE CODE

OTHER REPORT NO.

PUB'L. DATE 15- 01- 68
CONTRACT/GRANT NUMBER OEC-3-7-062044-0337

PAGINATION, ETC.
110 pages

RETRIEVAL TERMS

Language of the "disadvantaged"	Group Inquiry
Anthropology and Education	Subcultural Differences in Language Behavior
Sociolinguistics	Integrated Education

IDENTIFIERS

ABSTRACT

A comparative study of language style and inquiry style between small groups of inner city lower class Negro young people and groups of suburban middle class white young people. The data were collected through tape recording informal conversations in which the social situation presented in the lyric of a popular song was discussed.

Analysis revealed differences in language and inquiry style between the inner city and suburban sub-samples and within each group in each sub-sample. Differences in language style were found to vary with the degree of shared experience between speakers in a group as well as with the social class of the group. The volume of words employed in communication tended to decrease as shared experience (termed "High Context") increased. Examples of "abstract" reasoning in Negro groups in which dialect was employed suggest that "disadvantaged" Negro language style may not be as directly related to the potential ability to achieve academically as some researchers have suggested. The study may provide partial explanation for the apparent ability of culturally different Negro students to increase quickly in school achievement when placed in racially and culturally integrated school settings.